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Hong Kong, B. C. C.

September 30-October 7, 1974

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QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO

We must unite the whole Party and unite with all forces at home and abroad that can be united to strive for building a great socialist China.

In seeking victory, we must insure that we unite with the broad masses of the Chinese people under the leadership of the proletariat to win victory.

This democratic method of resolving contradictions among the people was epitomized in 1942 in the formula "unity--criticism--unity."

We extended this method beyond our Party. We applied it with great success in the anti-Japanese base areas in dealing with the relations between the leadership and the masses, between the army and the people, between officers and men, between the different units of the army, and between the different groups of cadres.

Correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but only in the course of struggle. These lines must combat "Left" opportunism on the one hand and Right opportunism on the other. Without combating and thoroughly overcoming these harmful tendencies which damage the revolution and the revolutionary war, it would be impossible to establish a correct line and win victory in this war.

Only socialism can save China.

The masses have a potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism.

The fundamental task of political work is to go on infusing socialist ideas into the masses of peasants and to criticize the tendencies toward capitalism.

* * *

Conscientiously Study Chairman Mao's Military Writings

- Commentary -

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 9, Sept. 1, 1974)

Chairman Mao's military writings, a scientific synthesis of the practice in China's revolutionary wars, are part of the treasured theoretical wealth of our Party. Over the long years of revolutionary struggle, our great leader Chairman Mao has perseveringly integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, applied dialectical materialism and historical materialism in guiding the war practice and waged a sharp struggle against "Left" and Right opportunism which did harm to the revolution and revolutionary wars; he has thus inherited, defended and developed Marxist-Leninist military thinking, formulated a Marxist-Leninist military line and guided China's revolutionary wars to victory. An earnest effort to read Chairman Mao's military writings and learn his proletarian military thinking and military line while criticizing Lin Piao's bourgeois military line constitutes an important aspect of the deepening criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius.

Chairman Mao points out: "The united front, armed struggle and Party building are the Chinese Communist Party's three magic weapons for defeating the enemy in the Chinese revolution." Armed struggle was the principal form of struggle in the Chinese revolution throughout the historical period of new-democratic revolution. "Indeed, the history of our Party may be called a history of armed struggle." The united front was a united front for carrying on armed struggle, and likewise, the building of the Party's political line was closely linked with the question of armed struggle. Therefore, if we want to deepen our study of Chairman Mao's correct political line we must link it with a study of his military line; if we want to liquidate more thoroughly Lin Piao's erroneous political line, we must liquidate his military line as well.

Lin Piao, that bourgeois careerist and conspirator, engaged in machinations in our Party for decades. He pressed ahead with a bourgeois military line at the same time as he did a revisionist political line. Through our criticism of Lin Piao's bourgeois military line, we will see more clearly his reactionary features and the ultra-Right essence of his revisionist line and wipe out its pernicious influence. Chairman Mao's military writings are a sharp weapon for criticizing Lin Piao's bourgeois military line. In Chairman Mao's critique of the opportunist military lines in the Party in different historical periods and different stages of development of the Chinese revolution, much was directed at Lin Piao or at errors that included Lin Piao's. Chairman Mao's famous essay "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire," written in the Second Revolutionary Civil War period, was a penetrating criticism of the Right-deviationist ideas of Lin Piao who was pessimistic about and had despaired of the future of the revolution. In "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," Chairman Mao's critique of the concept of "dividing forces up for defense and for short swift thrusts" contained a criticism of Lin Piao's error. The great number of dissertations on anti-Japanese guerrilla war written by Chairman Mao in the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, including "On Protracted

War," "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan" and other important works, contained a powerful criticism of Lin Piao who, toeing the line of Wang Ming, vainly hoped to rely on the Kuomintang conducting regular warfare. Chairman Mao's writings in the period of the War of Liberation, "The Concept of Operations for the Liaohsi-Shenyang Campaign" and "The Concept of Operations for the Peiping-Tientsin Campaign" and his whole series of important directives on these two major campaigns embodied in particular a tit-for-tat struggle against Lin Piao's obstinate adherence to his Right opportunist line. Through an earnest study of Chairman Mao's military writings, we will be able to conduct our criticism in such a way as to grasp the essence of the matter, hit the enemy where it hurts most and truly distinguish between right and wrong on the question of the line.

The study of Chairman Mao's military writings and criticism of Lin Piao's bourgeois military line can be closely combined with the criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. In as much as Lin Piao utilized the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as his reactionary ideological weapon, we can, in our criticism of Lin Piao's bourgeois military line, link it up with a criticism of the Confucianist fallacies on military affairs. In his military writings, Chairman Mao expounded in great detail the question of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, profoundly criticizing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in many passages. Chairman Mao set forth the brilliant thesis, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," which thoroughly negates the reactionary and hypocritical concepts of benevolence, righteousness and virtue preached in the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and proclaims the bankruptcy of such Confucianist humbug as "he who relies on virtue will thrive and he who relies on force will perish" and "don't do unto others what you don't want others to do unto you." Referring to the example of Duke Hsiang of Sung [ruler of the State of Sung in the seventh century B.C. during the Spring and Autumn period] Chairman Mao taught communists that "we have no use for his asinine ethics." Chairman Mao's thesis "Our principle is that the Party commands the gun" and his theses on building a people's army are a devastating criticism of the reactionary Confucianist program of "disciplining the army according to propriety." Chairman Mao firmly stood for the complete annihilation of the reactionary forces and the full expansion of the revolutionary forces, for "carry the revolution through to the end," and refuted the reactionary Confucianist sermons to the effect that the reactionary forces must be preserved and that anything else would be "out of keeping with China's traditions." Chairman Mao sharply criticized the standpoint of a "policy of benevolence" in the Confucian and Mencian doctrines, pointing out that to the reactionaries and the reactionary activities of reactionary classes, what applies is only dictatorship and definitely not a policy of benevolence. So long as we seriously study Chairman Mao's military writings, deepen our understanding of the basic principles of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat expounded profoundly by Chairman Mao, grasp the laws of development of the revolution and revolutionary wars in China and master the Marxist method of class analysis, our criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius will gain in depth.

Chairman Mao's military writings, which apply Marxist materialism and dialectics to the question of war, are at the same time philosophical writings. Applying the Marxist theory of knowledge, i.e., proceeding from the particular to the general and then from the general to the particular, Chairman Mao sums up the laws of war and revolutionary war in general and, in particular, the specific laws of revolutionary war in China. At the same time, he applies his knowledge of objective laws to actively changing the world and directing war. By studying Chairman Mao's military writings, we can learn the principles of Marxist materialism and dialectics that abound in these writings, and know how to grasp the objective laws of things, how to bring man's active role into play and how to determine our working policies and methods according to actual conditions. This is something indispensable to us in any work. Chairman Mao's concept on despising the enemy strategically but taking him seriously tactically, his concept on concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one, his concept on gaining the initiative by taking proper measures based on investigation and study conducted open-mindedly and on a correct appraisal of objective conditions, his concept on the masses of the people being a true bastion of iron and every one of the people being a soldier, and the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention formulated by him--all these have a universal significance in guiding the socialist revolution and construction on every front. Encouraging people to sing "The Internationale" and "The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention," Chairman Mao said: "I hope that the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention will be used to educate the fighters, the cadres, the masses, the Party members and the whole people." If we study Chairman Mao's military writings well, we will get a better grasp of Mao Tsetung Thought and this will be vital to our success in political, economic, military, ideological and cultural and other work and to the further strengthening of the unity between the army and the people. The masses and cadres have achieved good results in studying Chairman Mao's military writings and applying what they have learned to practice in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and they should sum up their experience in this regard. We must persistently carry out Chairman Mao's teachings: "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people" and "dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony" and be fully prepared against any war of aggression. By earnestly studying Chairman Mao's military writings and deepening our criticism of Lin Piao's bourgeois military line, we are also adopting an important measure to enhance our preparedness against war.

Chairman Mao's military writings elucidated in detail the nature of wars, the laws of military science, the application of strategic and tactical principles, etc., in history, providing a Marxist guiding principle and a substantial basis for our study of different schools of military thinking and different military lines. By his study of military thinking in ancient China, Chairman Mao has set many outstanding examples for us. For example, on the question of knowing the laws of war, Chairman Mao affirmed the axiom by Sun Wu Tzu, a Chinese military scientist who pursued the Legalist line, "know the enemy and know yourself, and you can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat," and pointed out that it "remains scientific truth"

today. In connection with this, Chairman Mao criticized people who are good at knowing themselves and poor at knowing their enemy and those who are the other way round, and held that neither of them could solve problems of learning and applying the law of war. From Chairman Mao's military writings we must learn and grasp the Marxist world outlook and methodology so as to sum up scientifically the experience and lessons in the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines in history and, proceeding from the historical task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, absorb what is useful and reject what is not useful to us in an effort to create and develop what is specifically our own.

Early in the period of the democratic revolution, Chairman Mao called on the whole Party to "pay great attention to the study of military matters." In the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we are precisely making a profound study of military matters by conscientiously studying Chairman Mao's military writings and criticizing Lin Piao's bourgeois military line. We must do a good job of combining study, criticism and the summing up of experience, deepen our criticism through study while studying harder in the course of criticism, and at the same time be good at summing up historical experience and the fresh experience today, so as to raise substantially the Marxist theoretical level of the whole Party.

* * *

Persist in Revolutionary Unity, Deepen the Criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius

by

Ch'i Li (齐 力)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 9, Sept. 1, 1974)

One of the important experiences of the great proletarian cultural revolution has been the need to persist in the revolutionary great alliance. Chairman Mao has said: "There is no fundamental clash of interests within the working class. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is no reason whatsoever for the working class to split into two big irreconcilable organizations." In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we must persist in revolutionary unity, and consolidate and develop the revolutionary great alliance in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions. This is an important mark in upholding Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Revolutionary unity is a basic guarantee for the victory of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. It serves the fundamental interests of the proletariat and the broad masses of working people. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. It is the most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically and in strength. It can and must unite the overwhelming majority of people around itself so as to isolate the handful of enemies to the maximum and attack them." The proletarian Party and policies can and must unite the overwhelming majority of people including the proletariat itself, its allies, and all other forces that can be united. Proletarian revolutionary teachers have always attached major importance to revolutionary unity. For example, "workers of the world, unite!" was the first programmatic militant slogan issued by Marx and Engels. Lenin upheld this principle when calling for further unity among the workers and oppressed nations of the world. In the advancing historical course of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao has called on the entire Party and the people of the whole country to unite to strive for still greater victories. The more than 50-year history of our Party shows that only by achieving unity can the revolutionary cause advance from victory to still greater victory. Unity is strength; it means victory. In the old society, the Chinese people suffered from the oppression of the three big mountains--imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Our beautiful motherland was divided and rotten; the nation was plagued by disasters; and life for the people was intolerable. The Chinese Communist Party, led by Chairman Mao, relied on the worker-peasant alliance to closely rally the people of all nationalities in the struggle against the common enemy, eventually expelling imperialism, overthrowing the Chiang dynasty, and winning the victory of the new democratic revolution. During the socialist period, Chairman Mao has again led the entire Party, the entire army and the people of the whole country to unite closely and smash one attack after another launched by the class enemies both at home and abroad and in and out of the Party, crushing their criminal attempts to subvert, invade and split our country. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that during the great proletarian cultural revolution, which was personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, millions and millions of people actively

responded to his call to uphold the proletarian Party spirit and oppose bourgeois factionalism. They also thoroughly carried out Chairman Mao's great instruction on "bringing about a revolutionary great alliance," while forging a united front to direct the spearhead of struggle at the handful of renegades, enemy agents, and diehard capitalist roaders. In this way, they completely smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and further consolidated and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, we can see that achieving revolutionary great unity was essential in bringing about great victories in the new democratic revolution, in the socialist revolution and in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

"Unite, and don't split." This is a basic Marxist principle and an important experience for our Party in the struggle between the two lines. Marx and Engels pointed out: "Historical activities are the concern of the masses, and the in-depth development of such activities will inevitably result in the expansion of the ranks of the masses." Our Party has always regarded uniting the vast majority of people as an essential requirement in winning victories in revolution and construction, and upholding unity as a symbol of victory and a militant slogan. Only in this manner can the Party unite all those forces that can be united and launch attacks against our real enemy. All chieftains of the opportunist lines within the Party have shown an inevitable tendency to split organizationally while practicing revisionism politically. This is determined by their reactionary class nature. This was true from Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Wang Ming to Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. Lurking in dark corners, they enlisted a handful of monsters to form a small counter-revolutionary faction in order to foment dissension and discord, create confusion, and set up mountain strongholds. In this respect, Lin Piao had given a full demonstration during the great cultural revolution. Like Liu Shao-ch'i, he carried out a reactionary policy of "striking at many in order to protect a few" and "drawing the line by me." He enlisted deserters and turncoats to form a clique for selfish ends. He rigged up a sinister command headquarters, and vainly attempted to assassinate our great leader Chairman Mao, establish a separate Central Committee, split our Party, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, and restore capitalism. This was why the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was so thoroughly isolated in the entire Party and army and among the people of the whole country and why it inevitably went completely bankrupt.

The overthrown landlords and capitalists are still not reconciled to their doom. They will invariably seek every opportunity to split the Party and the revolutionary ranks and to sabotage the revolutionary movement. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique was their agent within the Party. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique collapsed long ago, and we must regard maintaining revolutionary unity as an important historical experience in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and consciously bear in mind this experience in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. In the excellent situation resulting from the in-depth development of the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we must maintain a clear mind. We must guard against the class enemies who try to instigate the masses to

fight one another, who refuse to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius but create and spread rumors or lies in an attempt to shift attention away from the general orientation of the struggle. We must thoroughly expose and deal resolute blows to the class enemies engaged in splittist activities.

We must unite to carry out the struggle and fight in unity. Under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, we must strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party, strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and correctly handle them. We must unite more than 95 percent of the cadres and masses and direct the spearhead of struggle at Lin Piao and Confucius. Only in this way can we thoroughly criticize Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius until they are truly discredited. Within our own revolutionary ranks, we must prevent ourselves from becoming endlessly entangled in certain problems which may serve to tone down the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. Nor should we establish our own mountain strongholds, practice splittism or do any other foolish things which might dishearten those dear to us and gladden the enemy. This is because doing so will go against the fundamental interests of the broad masses of laboring people and undermine the fight against the common foe. Even if certain controversial issues do exist within our revolutionary ranks, these can be resolved through conscientious study. Only in this way can we achieve unity in thinking, improve our mutual understanding, distinguish between right and wrong, and carry out the common struggle against the enemy. Most of the cadres and masses are good or relatively good; bad elements are only a small handful. We must trust the great majority of cadres and masses and rely on them. There may be certain matters on which no agreement can be reached in a short time. In dealing with such issues, we must proceed on the principle of seeking common ground while reserving minor differences, bearing in mind the public interest and the situation as a whole. In the common struggle against the enemy, we must achieve unity on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and take into consideration fundamental interests in thoroughly criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius and in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. As for the few comrades who have made more or less mistakes, we must help them sum up their experience, draw their lessons, acknowledge and correct their mistakes, change their stand, and return to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings: "Learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "cure the sickness to save the patient," as well as the formula "unity--criticism--unity." We must welcome any progress they have made and encourage them to do so. Only in this way can we organize a vast army for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius and isolate the handful of class enemies to the maximum and attack them.

It has been 8 years since the great proletarian cultural revolution was launched. Experience over this period shows that under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the leadership of the proletarian vanguards, success in achieving unity among the vast majority of people is a fundamental guarantee for defeating reactionaries at home and abroad and for doing a good job in all fields of work. It is also a basic guarantee for developing the current excellent situation. As Chairman Mao has said, "The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities--these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause." The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is a

political and ideological struggle in the superstructure through which Marxism will prevail over revisionism and the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. In this great struggle, it is necessary to "organize the masses in their millions into a mighty revolutionary army." Let us closely rally around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, emphasize the line and unity, achieve unity in thinking and action, and fight shoulder to shoulder, for only in this way can we win new victories in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

* * *

Give Serious Attention to Environmental Protection Work

by

Kuo Huan (郭 衍)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 9, Sept. 1, 1974)

Protecting and improving the environment and eliminating pollution caused by the industrial "three wastes" [waste gas, waste water and slag] is an important issue having a direct bearing on protecting the people's health, strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, and promoting industrial and agricultural production with greater, faster, better and more economical results. It is also an important aspect in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in our economic work. Doing a good job in this respect is of tremendous political and economic significance and of far-reaching importance for the development of the socialist cause.

Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee have always attached major importance to environmental protection. Since liberation, following the development of the national economy, China's environment has been vastly improved. Large-scale farmland water conservation projects and mass tree planting and afforestation movements launched in the countryside have effectively improved the conditions of agricultural production and the natural environment while strengthening the capacity to resist natural calamities. As part of rational distribution of industrial construction, large-scale construction undertaken in the vast areas of the interior has made possible the appearance of a number of new industrial cities and towns in many economically backward regions and areas of national minorities. This has initially changed the situation where industry is one-sidedly concentrated in a few coastal cities. Creditable results have also been achieved in multi-purpose utilization of the industrial "three wastes," in the work of turning what is harmful into what is beneficial. In old cities housing conditions for workers and public sanitary conditions have been gradually ameliorated through socialist transformation and construction. Patriotic health campaigns have been extensively launched across the country, resulting in marked improvement in environmental hygiene and in the health of the people, reducing the incidence of diseases and greatly lowering the mortality rate.

Facts about continuing improvement in China's environmental outlook have eloquently testified that under the socialist system, not only can production be developed at a high speed, but the environment can also be improved and pollution caused by "three wastes" can certainly be eliminated. Whether economic development will cause environmental pollution--which may even become a public evil--mainly depends on the social system adopted and the line followed. Under the capitalist system, due to pursuit of high profits, production is in a state of cut-throat competition and anarchic, and environmental pollution inevitably becomes a public menace. Under China's socialist conditions of public ownership of the means of production, the economy is planned and production is for the broad masses of the people.

There is also a proletarian revolutionary line of "doing everything in the interests of the people." Therefore, it is entirely possible to handle environmental problems successfully while developing the economy. Pollution problems that already exist will certainly be gradually eliminated. Pessimistic views concerning the "inevitability" of pollution caused by the "three wastes" resulting from industrial development are entirely wrong.

Promoting industrial production and protecting the environment constitute a unity of opposites. They are not only mutually contradictory but also mutually complementary. Handled properly, pollution caused by the "three wastes" under certain conditions can be converted into something good for the people. The key lies in how to correctly understand and handle this problem according to the dialectical point of view. Fundamentally speaking, protecting and improving the environment is to insure the health of the people and their children and children's children so as to protect and promote the development of the productive forces. In our socialist country, just as promoting production is for the people, so too is protecting the environment. For socialist industrial enterprises, it is absolutely necessary--and in the interests of the state and the people--to fulfill and overfulfill the state production plans. Likewise, it is also their unshirkable responsibility toward the Party, the State and the people to eliminate the menace caused by pollution from the "three wastes," to insure the people's health, and to promote the development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-line occupations and fishery. These are two sides of the same coin. If a plant produces goods needed by the State and the people on the one hand and allows its harmful substances to endanger the people on the other, it departs from Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the nature of socialist enterprises, and the basic purpose of promoting production. Even though its production plans are fulfilled, the tasks entrusted by the State cannot be regarded as having been successfully completed.

Experience shows that if attention is directed only to industrial production and not to protecting the environment, industrial production will eventually be affected. For instance, if waste liquid and gas with erosive matter were allowed to spread unchecked, they would cause damage to production equipment and structures of plants. If the "three wastes" polluted the water sources and spoiled the water, the quality of products would decline and the production of certain products might even be stopped. Since pollution by the "three wastes" endangered the workers' health, it would also reduce production efficiency. One chemical plant which previously failed to give serious attention to treatment of the "three wastes," suffered the consequences of lower product quality and reduced production efficiency. Later, the plant began to vigorously develop multi-purpose utilization and actively control the "three wastes," and in two years it basically eliminated the danger caused by the pollution of the "three wastes," besides reducing the consumption of raw materials and fuels, decreasing the cost of production, overfulfilling its state plans years after year, and producing for the State a large quantity of products by multi-purpose utilization. This fact shows that the development of industrial production and the protection of the environment can go hand in hand. The development of industrial production, while it creates problems of environmental protection, strengthens the capacity to protect the environment. When the environment is protected and improved, the essential conditions for industrial production will be created, thereby further impelling the development of production.

In environmental protection, attention must be given particularly to protecting and improving the natural environment in the vast socialist countryside. Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. Socialist industry and the development of the national economy as a whole must be based on the development of agriculture. It is only when agriculture has been developed that industry can be developed more substantially. Protecting and improving the natural environment of the vast socialist countryside, making it free from pollution, and insuring that socialist agriculture will develop at an accelerated pace are, therefore, matters of strategic significance. All regions and departments, particularly industrial production departments, must give full attention to this problem. The countryside is where the broad masses of peasants engage in productive labor. Whether the natural environment in the rural areas can be protected and improved while developing industry has a direct bearing on the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance. A copper smelting plant at first neglected the recovery of sulfur dioxide, which adversely affected the growth of farm crops in neighboring areas. Through the revolutionary mass criticism which enabled them to recognize, on the high plane of the line, the need to aid agriculture and not to endanger it, the leaders of the plant penetratingly mobilized the masses to offer suggestions, persisted in experiments, and eventually produced some recovery equipment, thereby eliminating the harmful smoke. Moreover, sulfuric acid was recovered to produce phosphate fertilizer, thereby turning what was harmful into what was beneficial and rendering aid to agricultural production--to the delight of the poor and lower-middle peasants. Some people take an indifferent attitude toward the harm done by industry to agriculture. Some factories would compensate every year the farm losses rather than make serious efforts to control the damage done by the "three wastes." This is wrong. We must seriously implement the general policy of developing the national economy by making "agriculture the foundation and industry the leading factor," and take timely steps to prevent and control the harm done by the industrial "three wastes" to agriculture. Moreover, through multi-purpose utilization, we should turn what is harmful into what is useful and produce products to aid agriculture so as to promote agricultural development.

Giving full play to the superiority of the socialist system, overall planning, rational distribution, and comprehensive treatment--these are important issues in preventing pollution and protecting the environment. Planned socialist economy offers the possibility for making rational distribution of industry and environmental protection a reality. Engels pointed out: "Only in a society where coordinated arrangements are made for its productive forces according to a unified general plan will industry be permitted to spread throughout the country in accordance with principles most conducive to its own development and to the preservation or development of other essential production elements." Under the Party's unified leadership, we must act in accordance with the general policy of "overall planning, all-round consideration and appropriate arrangements," map out overall plans and rational arrangements for the relations between industry and agriculture, cities and rural areas, production and livelihood, economic development and environmental protection, etc., so as to make comprehensive planning and coordinated development possible.

In developing new industries, rational distribution is vital. According to the spirit of Chairman Mao's relevant instructions, China's industrial distribution follows the principle of large-scale dispersal and small-scale concentration and developing more industries in small cities and towns. This is a strategic measure to reduce the disparities between cities and the rural areas as well as an effective way for solving the contradictions between developing industry and protecting the environment. Small cities and towns possess certain special characteristics such as integration of urban and rural areas and industry and agriculture, having facilities for both production and everyday life. This is highly favorable for environmental protection. Since these cities and towns are small in terms of size and population, pollutants from industry and daily living can be more easily handled. These cities and towns are surrounded by broad fields, rivers that criss cross each other, and dense forests. Even if a small amount of harmful substances are emitted, they can be easily diluted or purified. Some comrades unilaterally stressed that large cities possess fine conditions for construction; they have always wanted to continue to establish a number of large and medium-sized construction projects in large cities, resulting in continuous expansion of such cities in size. This idea is incorrect. With cities expanded in size, many difficulties will be created for land use, water supply, housing, communication and transportation, supply of agricultural and subsidiary products, and other public welfare amenities. This will not be favorable to construction. We must pay attention to this issue and strictly control the present size of big cities. At the same time, we must transform old cities and control urban population according to plans. Factories that are already contaminating the environment should be handled by groups and by stages so as to continuously improve urban environment.

In the course of industrial construction, a positive and effective measure for protecting the environment is to coordinate the adoption of anti-pollution measures with the design, construction or operation of pivotal engineering projects. This is a concrete application of the policy of "placing the main emphasis on prevention" in industrial construction. By doing so, it will be possible for harmful substances in the "three wastes" to be eliminated in the process of production. If they should be emitted, they can be satisfactorily handled immediately, and the danger of polluting the environment can be averted. Experience proves that environmental pollution can be quickly formed, and to eliminate such pollution requires a relatively long period of time. Moreover, if action is taken only after pollution or serious pollution has been caused, not only will a higher price have to be paid but it will be difficult to gain good results quickly. At times the danger of certain harmful matter is latent, revealing itself only after a long lapse. Therefore, we must plan ahead, eliminate the "three wastes" before they appear, eliminate what is harmful and promote what is beneficial for the people, and create happiness for our offspring.

Exploiting and protecting natural resources correctly and rationally is an important aspect of environmental protection. "We must learn to look at problems from all sides, seeing the reverse as well as the obverse side of things." The natural world is composed of many factors. The various factors both influence and restrain each other. When people are in the process of changing a certain natural condition, any wrong action taken may cause damage to the natural resources and environment. In planning industrial

and agricultural construction, therefore, it is essential to step up planning and forecasting, and to avoid and overcome blind actions. Whether in felling trees, opening up mines, building hydroelectric power stations or in reclaiming grassland and woodland, we must not only see the benefits that will accrue, but must also consider their possible effects on the climate, hydrology, marine life, water and soil conservation, and other ecological conditions. In the course of industrial construction in one city or one region, there is also the need for overall planning and rational distribution. In the selection of sites for industrial enterprises, for example, we must pay attention to such factors as raw materials, power, water sources, and communications, and must also consider the geology, topography, hydrology, climate and other conditions. We must study them comprehensively and make satisfactory arrangements so that no bad influence is produced on the inhabitants and the requirements for environmental protection are satisfied.

Environmental protection is a task of many dimensions, having a direct bearing on the personal interests of millions and millions of people. Only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them and upholding the policy of self-reliance can we tackle this task successfully. Environmental pollution in many countries under the capitalist system poses a serious threat to the people's lives and property. In these countries, the people are denied the facts concerning the harm caused by pollution. China is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, promoting production and protecting the environment in the interests of the people. Therefore, we must constantly inform the masses of the meaning of environmental protection, mobilize them to expose problems, work out measures for preventing and eliminating pollution, and rely on them to protect the environment. When leaders of some units fail to take the initiative to do such propaganda work and to explain to the masses the facts and problems, this is a sign of having no faith in and placing no reliance on the masses.

The masses are the heroes, real knowledge stems from practice. Workers and staff members fighting on the forefront of production are eager to eliminate pollution and improve the environment. They possess inexhaustible wisdom in controlling pollution. Once the socialist enthusiasm of the vast masses has been brought into full play, many problems arising from the "three wastes" can be solved easily. To prevent tungstic acid from contaminating the air, one oil refinery at first relied on a few persons in conducting research behind closed doors. Chasing after bigness and a modern standard, it spent a lot of money, but in eight years it had not been able to solve the problem. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, it criticized the revisionist line, further established the viewpoint of having faith in and placing reliance on the masses, and extensively mobilized the masses to practice the three-way combination of workers, technicians and leading cadres. Using crude and simple equipment, combining indigenous and modern methods, it made good the old and made use of the waste. In four months' time it built a recovery installation without requesting state investment. Besides eliminating the danger of pollution, it has recovered the tungstic acid, creating a profit of more than 3 million yuan for the State each year. Innumerable facts indicate that once the masses have been mobilized, they will put forward many effective measures that will enable us to do more things at lesser cost, and to obtain greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Eliminating pollution caused by the "three wastes" in industry and protecting and improving the environment basically depends on the line and leadership. Impelled by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, if leaders at all levels put this task on their daily agendas, plan seriously, mobilize the masses extensively, promote multi-purpose utilization and adopt other measures, new achievements will certainly be made. China's socialist construction has bright prospects. It is not too late to grasp this now. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we will--and certainly can--create a still better environment for the people both in working and living while building up a great socialist country.

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Study the Confucianist-Legalist Struggle for the Sake of Consolidating the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

by

Fang O (方 鍔)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 9, Sept. 1, 1974)

The vast masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals are now earnestly studying the Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings, studying the struggle between the Confucianist and Legalist schools over the past 2,000 years and the history of class struggle as a whole. Early in the period of the new democratic revolution Chairman Mao stated: "Another of our tasks is to study our historical heritage and use the Marxist method to sum it up critically." And he pointed out: "This is important for guiding the great movement of today." ("The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War") Chairman Mao made it clear that the purpose of studying history is "to guide the great movement of today." This is a Marxist principle. Our purpose in studying the struggle between the Confucianist and Legalist schools and the history of class struggle as a whole is definitely not to understand some historical facts or gain some historical knowledge but to link theory with reality, use the Marxist viewpoint to sum up historical experience and make the past serve the present. In other words, to study history is for the purpose of conducting the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius successfully, of thoroughly repudiating Lin Piao's revisionist line and its ideological roots and of propelling the victorious development of the socialist revolution and construction so as to further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Like the feudal system, the slave system also experienced a process of emergence, development and decline. At the outset the Legalists in history mounted the stage as ideological and political representatives of the newly emerging landlord class, the very opposites of the slave-owning aristocrats who had become completely reactionary and decadent and were in their period of descendancy. On the basis of ceaseless revolutionary uprisings staged by the millions of slaves and going along with the historical tides, they bravely put forward the slogan "There is more than one way to govern a state, and there is no need to emulate antiquity." ("Reform, Book of Lord Shang") Some of them, fearing neither slander nor repression, gave their lives in the sharp struggle against the slave-owning class. As Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In past history, before they won state power and for some time afterward, the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie were vigorous, revolutionary, progressive; they were real tigers." To be sure, from the very day it was born, the landlord class had had antagonistic contradictions with the peasant class, but under the historical conditions in those days, such contradictions were secondary, the main contradictions being between the relations of production under the decaying slave system and those under the newly emerging feudal system. The Legalists' revolutionary role was embodied in a concentrated way in a

correct line for solving the principal social contradictions, a line which gradually took shape in their continuous practice, a line which called for the replacement of the slave system by the feudal system and the replacement of the slave-owning class dictatorship by the landlord class dictatorship. This is clearly seen in the writings of Han Fei, the synthesizer of Legalist ideas. In dealing with law, political policies and power, Han Fei placed the main emphasis on law. Commenting on Shen Pu-hai and Shang Yang, he believed that the former "did not the make the fullest use of laws" while the latter "did not make the fullest use of political policies," each having deviated somewhat. He himself proposed that neither laws nor political policies were "dispensable." ("Legislation, Han Fei Tzu") At the same time, he held that "laws must be adopted with an eye to power." ("Problems of Power") This shows that after prolonged struggle and through summing up of experience, the landlord class's revolutionary ideological and political lines had gradually matured. After several years of hard fighting, Ch'in Shih Huang, who adhered to this revolutionary line, expectedly accomplished the historical task of unifying China and founded a feudal country of central authority.

As Chairman Mao has pointed out, after the slave-owning class, the landlord class, and the bourgeoisie won state power, "because their opposites--the slave class, the peasant class and the proletariat--grew in strength step by step, struggled against them more and more fiercely, these ruling classes changed step by step into the reverse, changed into reactionaries, changed into backward people, changed into paper tigers. And eventually they were overthrown, or will be thrown by the people." The conversion of the landlord class into the reverse was shown in the political and ideological fields in its shift from honoring Legalism and opposing Confucianism to honoring Confucianism and opposing Legalism. The danger of restoration of the slave system gradually waned after the Western Han dynasty, and in the landlord class, with the exception of some people who adhered to the Legalist line under different circumstances, most had already turned their backs on revolutionary progressiveness and instead, picked up and prized the Confucianist line which had been criticized by the forerunners of their own class. Consequently, the struggle between the Confucianist and Legalist schools was carried out mainly within the landlord class from then onward. This struggle was more or less swayed or influenced by the principal contradiction in the feudal society--the struggle between the landlord and peasant classes, reflecting in a devious way the fluctuation and intensification of the class struggle. "The class struggles of the peasants, the peasant uprisings and peasant wars constituted the real motive force of historical development in Chinese feudal society". ("The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party") Both before and after the peasant revolutionary uprisings, there often appeared certain noted representative figures of the Legalist school. On the whole, these Legalists represented a stratum of the landlord class which had a lower economic and political status. Daring to criticize the Confucianist ideology, propagate certain progressive viewpoints and adopt certain reform measures, they waged certain struggles against the big landlord class or its diehards who repressed and rejected them, revealing in a greater or less degree the seamy side of the reactionary feudal rule and the decadence of the feudal relations of

production. However, as the landlord class as a whole was heading toward degeneration and reaction, the Legalists, representing one wing of this class, were politically unable to submit geniunely revolutionary proposals for solving the principal social contradictions, even though they were capable of sharply exposing the ugly features of the diehards of their own class in worshipping Confucius and restoring the old order. Naturally, we cannot make harsh demands on individual historical figures because it was beyond them to transcend historical and class limitations. Wang An-shih, a noted reformer, was bold enough to affirm the Legalist line of Shang Yang and others at a time when the tides of worshipping Confucius and opposing the Legalist school were extremely rampant. His political reform played a role in restraining the land acquisition of the big landlords, and the reform measures he adopted helped the resistance against the predatory wars of aggression launched by the aristocratic cliques of Liao and Western Hsia. However, these reforms could neither shake the foundation of the feudal system nor change the lot of the peasants suffering from exploitation and oppression. What was more illuminating to us was that even when Wang An-shih introduced these reforms, he was bitterly opposed by the diehards represented by Ssuma Kuang, who declared that between them, it were as if "ice and live coal cannot co-exist in a container for long, nor can winter and summer arrive at the same time." ("Memorial for Censure of Wang An-shih") Li Chih of the late Ming dynasty, dissatisfied with the corrupt politics at that time, opposed Confucianism and attacked Taoism, yet failing to see any way out for the feudal society, he finally killed himself in prison under the persecution of the reactionary rulers. All this shows that the feudal system, impelled by its own inherent contradictions, could not and had no power to seriously practice the Legalist line, irretrievably and gradually heading toward its extinction. Rising in its stead should be a newer social system, namely, capitalism. A series of incursions by the imperialist powers after the middle Ch'ing dynasty had so weakened the emerging and developing Chinese bourgeoisie and its capitalism that they could stand up only by leaning on imperialism and with the support of feudalism. Although its several forerunners showed themselves to be quite fierce in leading the attack against the feudal system, yet the Revolution of 1911, as their last deed, drove away only one emperor, leaving the task of opposing imperialism and feudalism unfinished. History testifies that the progressive task of consummating the bourgeois democratic revolution, thoroughly criticizing the reactionary nature of Confucianism and correctly evaluating the Legalist school could not be discharged by the bourgeoisie itself but by its opposite--the Chinese proletariat.

The proletariat is the greatest and most revolutionary class in human history. It alone can forever preserve the revolutionary vigor and keep to the Marxist line after winning state power. It does not evade but tightly grasps the principal social contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. By continuing the revolution, it pushes history step by step toward communism. Of course, to achieve this goal presupposes in the first place that we heighten our consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. An important aspect of raising our consciousness is to make an earnest effort to study Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings, use the Marxist viewpoint to sum up the historical experiences of the Confucianist-Legalist struggle and of the class

struggle as a whole and find out from them the laws of things. Therefore, in criticizing the Confucian writings, we should also criticize the popular reading matter on Confucius and Mencius, such as "San Tzu Ching," compiled by the landlord class diehards in their declining period for the purpose of training successors to their own class. We should comment on and annotate Legalist works, including compiling some stories on the struggle by the Legalists. In doing all this, we must make class, historical and factual analyses and grasp the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines as the key link, so that we will arrive at a still better understanding of the immediate class struggle and two-line struggle and carry out the Party's basic line more properly.

In history, the Confucianists and Legalists also confronted each other on the question of whether to uphold the practice of enfeoffment and secession or to pursue centralization and unification. "The King of Ch'in defeated and united the six states; however powerful and majestic he was!" (Li Po, "Ancient Style, No. 3") Ch'in Shih Huang's undertaking in unifying China produced a far-reaching influence on the development of history. Most of the Legalists over the ages appraised it positively, with some attacking, on this basis, the state of dismemberment the country was suffering in their time. Liu Tsung-yüan's "Feng Chien Lun" was a representative piece in this regard. Citing a host of historical facts, this famous essay testified to the superiority of the prefecture-county system to the feudal system, with the aim of criticizing the secessionist forces of the principalities which kept large armies and rebelled against the central government during the T'ang dynasty. It proposed a state policy of "disciplining the army properly and selecting governors with care" and resolutely defended centralization and unification of the country. In the Chinese feudal society lasting more than 2,000 years, periods of unification accounted for two-thirds and periods of division only one-third of the total time span. Moreover, the general trend was toward shorter and shorter period of division, showing that unification of the country and unity of all nationalities were for a long time the common aspirations of the people of the whole country and that the realization of such aspirations were inseparable from the struggle waged by the Legalist representatives who upheld centralization and unification against the Confucianist counterparts who advocated enfeoffment and secession. Faced with aggressors, the Legalists generally called for a war of resistance and opposed capitulation and national betrayal. In the old China with a dark semi-colonial, semi-feudal society, ruled by the exploiting classes, it was anything but possible to truly achieve unification of the country and unity of the people. "Long was the night and slow the crimson dawn to spread in this land; for hundreds of years have demons and monsters swept in a swirling dance, and the five hundred million people were disunited." It was only after the reactionary rule of the exploiting classes was overthrown and the socialist new China was founded under the leadership of the Communist Party that an unparalleled situation of national unification and unity of all fraternal nationalities in our country appeared. Chairman Mao has taught us: "The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities--these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause." He has also taught us: "Only through the unity of the Communist Party can the unity of the whole class and of the whole nation be achieved." Whether it is the Party, the government, the army, the people, education, and whether in the east, west, south, north and central, it is the Party that exercises overall leadership. Lin Piao and company, in vainly attempting to undermine the

unification of the country and split the unity of the Party,were bound to fall ignominiously because their splittist acts neither satisfied the common wishes of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country nor conformed to the laws of development of Chinese social history. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we must, in the context of the historical experience of the Confucianist-Legalist struggle and the class struggle as a whole, further criticize the splittist activities and conspiracies of Lin Piao and company, overcome the ideas and practices which hinder the unity and solidarity of the revolutionary ranks, talk about the line, the Party spirit and the general situation, and be promoters of revolutionary unity. Under Party leadership and on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we must "unite for one purpose, that is, to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and fulfill this task in every factory, rural area, state organ and school"!

In history the Legalists from the very first appeared as reformers of the relations of production under the slave system. With the support of Marquis Wen of Wei, Li Kuei, the Legalist representative of the early period, had done his utmost to introduce in the State of Wei such policies as "making the maximum utilization of the land" and "buying grain in time of abundance and selling it in time of scarcity," thereby developing the feudal economy at a relatively fast pace. Later, Shang Yang, bringing Li Kuei's "Fa Ching" [Book of Law] with him, left Wei for Ch'in, where he assisted Duke Hsiao in introducing the political reform. He held even more strongly that "agriculture and war" were "imperatives for governing a state," so much so that officials should be selected and promoted and education conducted on the basis of these "imperatives." ("Agriculture & War, Book of Lord Shang") From the "initial land tax" to "breaking the field boundaries," the Legalists of the early Ch'in period carried out a succession of reforms, using the feudal relations of production to replace the slave relations of production, thereby bringing about a substantial liberation of the social productive forces. Although Legalists since Ch'in and Han were unable to propose fundamental revolutionary measures for the feudal relations of production, nevertheless, under the situation where they held the reins of government or were in a position to influence it, they made certain adjustments and reforms in the relations of production within the framework of an unchanged feudal system, with the result that the productive forces at that time were developed to a certain extent. The stand taken by the Confucianists was just the opposite. Although they were perpetrating evil deeds and chasing after material enjoyment every day, yet orally, Confucius "rarely talks about gain," ("Tzu Han, Analects") and Mencius asked, "Why must we talk about profit?" ("King Hui of Liang, Part I, Mencius") In fact, they were so ignorant of the practical problems of state and society and problems of national welfare and people's livelihood that when people asked Confucius about government, he told such asinine lies as "foregoing military equipment" and "parting with food" and simply keeping the hypocritical and hollow "trustworthiness" in dealing with enemy states. ("Yen Yüan, Analects") "The old men of Lu talked about the Five Classics; when their hair had turned grey and even when they died, they still kept reciting phrases and terms. When they were asked about economic policies, they were completely in the dark as if they had fallen into a maze." ("Poking Fun at the Confucianists of Lu") Li Po's critique of the disciples of Confucius and Mencius could be said to hurt them where it hurt most.

Marxism holds that the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production is the basic contradiction in human society, the sum total of the relations of production constituting the economic base on which the entire superstructure is erected. The Legalists devoted more attention to problems of production also for the purpose of setting up or defending the feudal relations of production and the state power of the landlord class. This made the role of the Legalists in promoting production necessarily limited. For, under the feudal relations of production, the broad masses of peasants lived under exploitation and oppression, their enthusiasm and creativity were severely restrained and restricted. Since Ch'in and Han, and particularly after T'ang and Sung, the stormy peasant uprisings were directed at destroying the increasingly reactionary and decadent feudal system. But because the peasants did not represent the new productive forces, they were unable to accomplish this historical task. The proletariat represents the most progressive productive forces in history, and the socialist relations of production are new relations of production established under the leadership of the proletariat. Only a socialist country can fully arouse the enthusiasm and creativity of the broad masses of workers and peasants. Both historical and contemporary experiences tell us that to consolidate its state power, the proletariat must establish a strong socialist economical base for the dictatorship of the proletariat. In economic work, we must keep to the socialist road, oppose taking the capitalist road, and clearly recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must persistently carry out Chairman Mao's policy "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people." We must deeply criticize the revisionist line on running enterprises. We must consolidate and develop the economy under the socialist system of state and collective ownership. We must actively and continuously adjust certain links of the relations of production that do not correspond with the development of the productive forces. We must bring the enthusiasm and creativity of the workers and peasant masses into fuller play. Working hard and leading a simple life, we must exert ourselves to increase industrial and agricultural production and develop other undertakings so as to build up our great socialist mother country with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Studying the Confucianist-Legalist struggle and the history of the class struggle as a whole from the Marxist viewpoint is of tremendous significance to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Study of history has always been linked with the immediate struggle, as evidenced by the course of the struggle between the two classes and two lines in the ideological sphere since the period of socialist revolution in our country. In the early days of the liberation, some people extolled Wu Hsün, the big rascal, big angry beggar, big creditor and big landlord who preached the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius--in a vain attempt to resist the socialist tides. Then, the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique launched an attack against the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat by employing the counter-revolutionary tactics of Liu Pi, Prince of Wu, who asked to have the Legalist representative Ch'ao Ts'o executed in order to "clear the people who sit by the side of the emperor" in his plot to restore the old order during the Western Han dynasty. By the early 1960's, under Liu Shao-ch'i's direction, people of the "Three Family Villages" using the tricks of distorting history and obliterating class struggle, dished up the

reactionary historical drama "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office," in a desperate attempt to "plead" for P'eng Te-huai, the anti-Party chieftain, who had been dismissed from office and to reverse the decisions of the Lushan Conference held by the Party Central Committee. Lin Piao attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat through abusing Ch'in Shih Huang and other Legalists in his futile effort to "revive states that have become extinct, restore families whose line of succession has been broken, and call to office those who have fallen into obscurity" and restore capitalism. Historical experiences tell us that those counter-revolutionary representatives of landlord and bourgeois classes, to attack the proletariat, often have to make use of, distort and forge history in order to pave the way for their counter-revolutionary cause in the ideological sphere. On the other hand, to consolidate its state power and beat off the attacks of the landlord and bourgeois classes, the proletariat must use Marxism to take over the entire superstructure that includes philosophy, history, education, literature, art and jurisprudence. To fulfill this historical task, it is necessary to have the participation of millions and millions of the masses; it just won't do to rely on only a few. Now we are happy to see that the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, as the main force in the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, are carrying on the war in high spirits and with effort, and in the process the ranks of worker-peasant-soldier theorists are swelling. Taking advantage of the excellent situation in the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, we must give serious attention to the creations of the masses, help them promptly sum up experience well, and give them correct guidance. While integrating the professional theorists' ranks with those of the worker-peasant-soldier theorists, we must also combine the study and criticism of the worker-peasant-soldier theorists with the study and criticism of the broad masses. In the wake of the deep-going, widespread and sustained development of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the study of the Confucianist-Legalist struggle and the history of class struggle as a whole from the Marxist viewpoint will surely be developed in greater depth and with still better results. More, in the course of struggle we shall bring up a mammoth contingent of Marxist theorists that will make even greater contributions to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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The Chief Exponent of Pre-Ch'in Legalist Thinking

- Comment on "Han Fei Tzu"

by

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Han Fei (CIR 280-233 B.C.), a fierce fighter in the struggle against Confucius during the late Warring States period, was also an outstanding theorist of the pre-Ch'in Legalist school. "Han Fei Tzu," an anti-Confucian work full of militancy, dramatically recorded the difficult fighting course in which the landlord class won out over the slave-owning class; summed up the historical experience of the two-line struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools during the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods; expounded the theoretical basis for establishing a unified feudal country based on a centralized administrative structure; and was a work that synthesized the thinking of the Legalist school. In order to thoroughly criticize and repudiate the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius preached by Lin Piao, scientifically analyze the progressive role of the Legalist school in history, and critically sum up the historical experience of the Legalist school in criticizing Confucius, it is helpful for us to study "Han Fei Tzu" from the viewpoint of class analysis.

I.

It was certainly not accidental that Han Fei became the chief exponent of pre-Ch'in Legalist thinking; there were profound class and historical roots.

The Warring States period, during which Han Fei lived, was an era of sharpening class struggle. Since the Late Spring and Autumn period, impelled by powerful slave uprisings, replacing the slave system by the feudal system had become an irresistible historical tide. By the early and middle Warring States period, high tides of changes had occurred on a wide scale in the states of Wei, Ch'u, Ch'in, Han, Chao and Ch'i. The state of Han, for example, appointed Shen Pu-hai, a Legalist, who "developed the art of government and put the state in order." ("Han Fei, Shih Chi [Historical Records]") In the state of Ch'i, Tsou Chi was appointed Prime Minister and the Legalist Shen Tao was invited to serve as an advisor. "After laws were carefully revised and dishonest officials disciplined," the state of Ch'i was well governed. ("T'ien Ching and Chung Wan, Shih Chi") However, the road of advance in history was tortuous. In a long period of more than 70 years beginning with the killing of Shang Yang in the middle Warring States period, the powerholders in the various states were mostly slave-owning aristocrats who in varying degrees upheld Confucian doctrines. Only in the state of Ch'in, beginning from the 42nd year of the reign of Prince Chao, when Fan Sui and Ts'ai Tse were appointed court ministers successively and Wei Jan the Marquis of Jang was expelled, did the rising landlord class seize back political power. However, soon after the death of Prince Chao,

power was usurped by Lü Pu-wei, who became the chief representative of the slave-owning class and the Confucianists during the late Warring States period, and whose conspiracy to restore the old order was smashed only when Ch'in Shih Huang personally exercised power. The reform movement during the Warring States period took a zigzag course. Except for the state of Ch'in, the rising landlord class in the other states achieved little in their struggle against restoration.

Why did the landlord class which experienced protracted struggles still fail to firmly establish itself as the ruling class? How could restoration of the slave system be effectively prevented? To defeat the slave-owning class, the rising landlord class had to make a theoretical summation of the protracted and fierce struggle between restoration and counter-restoration. The appearance of "Han Fei Tzu" was meant to serve this purpose. It signified the gradual ideological maturity of the rising landlord class during the period of revolution. If we say that people like Li Kuei, Wu Ch'i, Shang Yang, Shen Pu-hai and Shen Tao in their efforts to carry out reforms each in a limited way practiced and summed up the historical experiences of the rising landlord class in seizing and consolidating political power but that due to limitations of historical conditions, each was not yet able to formulate a theoretically more complete Legalist ideological and political line, then, by the late Warring States period, the historical conditions for the solution of this problem had become ripe, because by that time the struggle between the rising landlord class and the declining slave-owning class had entered a decisive stage. Faced with the situation of final unification of the six states, the landlord class urgently needed a relatively correct ideological and political line for the establishment of a unified feudal country of centralization. In the meantime, the landlord class had accumulated its own experiences both of success and failure, bloody and bloodless,in its protracted struggles against the slave-owning class. To sum up these experiences became a major question that had to be urgently solved by the rising landlord class. At that time, during the reign of Prince Chao of Ch'in, followers of Shang Yang in that state compiled and published the "Book of Lord Shang." Hsün K'uang, an outstanding Legalist, also did a lot of work to prepare public opinion for the revolution of the landlord class. But the historical task of systematically summing up the revolutionary theories of the landlord class finally fell on the shoulders of Han Fei, a student of Hsün K'uang.

Han Fei was a noble of the state of Han. At that time, the struggle between the rising landlord class and the declining slave-owning aristocracy and between the Confucian and Legalist schools was very acute in the state of Han. During the early years of the Warring States period, the state of Han had tried reforms, but later the slave-owning aristocracy regained power, and the state began to change from strong to weak and gradually became a dependency to the state of Ch'in. At that time, Han was the weakest of the seven states. By the time Han Fei was born, it had already "served Ch'in for more than 30 years." Han Fei pointed out: in its relationship to the state of Ch'in, Han was "no different from a prefecture or county." ("Preservation of Han") As a thinker of the rising landlord class, Han Fei had on many occasions proposed to the ruler of Han the adoption of a Legalist

political line. However, due to the opposition and obstruction of the agents of the slave-owning class within the organ of political power in Han, his political opinions were never accepted. On the basis of personal participation in class struggle including the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools, in the state of Han, Han Fei did a large amount of research work. The major articles in the book "Han Fei Tzu," such as "Solitary Anger," "The Five Vermin," "On Doubt," "Eminence in Learning," "Loyalty and Filial Piety," and "Legislation," were all written in the state of Han. The state of Han was a mirror reflecting the fierce struggle between reform and opposition to reform over the length and breadth of China at that time.

In establishing his Legalist theories, Han Fei did not limit himself to the experience of the state of Han alone. Proceeding from the realities of the Confucianist-Legalist struggle in his own state, he studied the conditions of political and ideological struggles in the other states, and provided a relatively complete ideological weapon for the rising landlord class to unify the six states. During the Warring States period, the states of Ch'i, Ch'u, Wei, Chao and Yen all had become a dominating power for a while. Why were these states only able to dominate for a period only to fall into rapid decline, while the state of Ch'in, which lagged behind at first, became stronger and stronger through wars? After summing up the experiences and lessons of success and failure of the seven states, Han Fei arrived at the profound conclusion that "the Confucians with their learning bring confusion to the law." ("The Five Vermin") He compared the state of Ch'in with the states of Wei,Chao and Han, pointing out: "the three states of Tsin [Wei, Chao and Han] admire benevolence and righteousness and become weak and chaotic; Ch'in does not do so and becomes well-governed and powerful. However, Ch'in has not yet achieved an empire because its rule of law is not thorough." ("Outer Discussions on the Left, Part I") The states of Wei, Chao and Han pushed a Confucian line and became "weak and chaotic." Ch'in enforced the "rule of law" and adopted a correct line, and therefore became powerful. But why had Ch'in "not yet achieved an empire," in other words, why had it not yet been able to unify the six states? The reason was that "its rule of law is not thorough," that is, the Legalist line was not yet implemented in an all-round way. In addition, Han Fei made a comparison between the state of Ch'in and the state of Ch'u. Both Ch'u and Ch'in had carried out reforms. However, in the former, the reforms carried out by Wu Ch'i lasted only for a short time, and after the death of Prince Tao who supported the reforms, the reforms also ended in failure. By contrast, the reforms carried out by Shang Yang in the state of Ch'in lasted for a long time, and more powerful blows were dealt to the reactionary slave-owning aristocrats and the Confucianists. The results were entirely different: "Ch'u, failing to continue the policies of Wu Ch'i, suffered from foreign incursion and internal chaos; Ch'in, applying Lord Shang's laws, became rich and powerful." ("Mr. Ho")

Chairman Mao points out: "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Han Fei, of course, could not possibly use the class viewpoint to analyze the question of line. However, after comparing the different attitudes of the various states toward reforms, he concretely explained the different consequences of

different ideological and political lines pursued by the various states during different historical periods. He pointed out that when the state of Wei enforced the rule of law, "it was the most powerful state under Heaven, and its influence reached into neighboring states." But later, "the law was ignored," and rule of law was not enforced seriously. As a result, "The state became increasingly weak." The state of Chao enforced the Legalist line during the reign of Prince Wu Ling, when it had "a large population and a strong army and seized the land of Ch'i and Yen." After the death of Prince Wu Ling, "laws of the state were ignored," rule by law was no longer seriously enforced, and similarly "the state became increasingly weak." In the state of Yen, the Legalist political line was dominant for a period during the reign of Prince Chao, and the state "bordered with Ch'i in the east and occupied all the territory of the central mountains in the south." But after the death of Prince Chao, "the law was no longer respected" and rapidly "the state weakened militarily and lost territories and was controlled by hostile neighboring states." ("Hidden Evils") Not only was this true with the six states in the Kuantung region, but even the state of Ch'in had a similar lesson. Han Fei pointed out that during the reign of Duke Hsiao of Ch'in, due to the implementation of Shang Yang's reforms, "the position of the ruler became secure and respected, and the state grew rich and powerful." ("Mr. Ho") Later on, the slave-owning aristocracy carried out a counter-attack in revenge, when Wei Jan came to power and a situation appeared in the state of Ch'in where "the powerful court ministers took the credit when wars were won, and captured territories were distributed privately as fiefs." ("Legislation") Basing himself on the different situations in which various states had implemented the Legalist line, Han Fei reached this conclusion: "A state becomes strong when its law are made clear; it becomes weak when its laws are ignored. Such is the distinction between the strong and the weak that if a ruler fails to understand it and act accordingly, his state should perish." So clear were the consequences of different lines adopted that it was anything but strange that those rulers who still failed to rule by law should see their states vanish. Han Fei also pointed out that the key to winning or losing a war did not depend on the size of a state's territory or of its population, but rather lay in whether or not it was ruled by law. "When a ruler knows how to rule his state well, he can make his state rich even if it is small. When the people of a state respect and believe in rewards and punishments, they can become strong even if they are few in number." On the contrary, "if rewards cannot encourage people in a state to do something good and punishments cannot prohibit them from doing evils, that state is in danger no matter how big it is." ("Hidden Evils")

While summing up the experiences and lessons of various states in carrying out reforms, Han Fei also came to realize that states had previously failed in effecting reform not merely because the slave-owning restorationists had sabotaged such reform but because the Legalist line itself had not yet become perfect. He thought that although Shang Yang had resolutely suppressed the old aristocrats who sabotaged the reform, he did not have a set of struggle tactics and organizational guarantees against the usurpation of power by the slave-owners. In other words, "there is no method to ferret out bad elements." Thus, "although Lord Shang revised the laws ten times,

the court ministers still used the loopholes for their own purposes" and the slave-owning restorationists usurped political power for a time. Han Fei also pointed out that although Shen Pu-hai stressed "strategy," he had only made organizational and tactical efforts to prevent the slave-owning aristocracy from usurping power. Since Shen Pu-hai "was not good at ruling by law and failed to unify rules and orders, there were many bad elements around." As social reforms were not thorough enough and the restorationists were not resolutely suppressed, often "new laws in Han were promulgated before the old laws of the state of Tsin were repealed. The orders of the new ruler were issued before those of the former ruler were rescinded." "The old and new laws were contrary to one another, and so were the orders of the new ruler and those of the former ruler." The superstructure of the slave system and that of the feudal system existed side by side. As a result, although "the strong state of Han had 10,000 chariots, it failed to achieve hegemonism in 17 years." It gained little. Therefore, he held that the laws of Shang Yang and Shen Pu-hai "all were not perfect." ("Legislation") With regard to a group of Legalists represented by Shen Tao who called for "importance to be attached to power," Han Fei also criticized them, thinking that doing things by relying on power was not enough and that power must be combined with the law. "A state becomes tranquil when it adheres to the law and holds power; otherwise, it will suffer from chaos." ("Problems of Power") In short, Han Fei made a concrete analysis of the different factions of the Legalist school in the early period and drew on their strong points. It was precisely in the course of personally participating in class struggle in the state of Han that on the basis of summing up the experiences and lessons of the struggle by the landlord class against restoration by the slave-owners in the Warring States period, especially the experiences and lessons of the struggle by the Legalist school against the Confucian school in the early period that Han Fei formulated an ideological and political line with a view to consolidating the dictatorship of the rising landlord class and preventing the restoration of the slave system.

II.

In this work "Han Fei Tzu," prominent place was given to theses favoring the establishment of the dictatorship of the landlord class with central authority and calling for vigilance against the usurpation of political power by those slave-owning aristocrat-careerists and conspirators who had sneaked into the feudal state machine.

Han Fei's theory on the necessity of setting up the dictatorship of the landlord class holding control power was based on the political needs of the struggle by the rising landlord class against restoration. Wang Ch'ung held that "if the state of Han had not been small and weak and if its laws had not been violated, Han Fei would not have written his book." ("Contrast, Lun Heng") At that time, the struggle between the rising landlord class and the slave-owning restorationists was very acute in the state of Han. A concentrated expression of this struggle was class antagonism between "people well versed in law" and "people in power." "People well versed in law" referred to the Legalists and "people in power," also called "the influential," referred to the slave-owning nobles that had

usurped political power in the state of Han. In his essays "Solitary Indignation," "The Difficulties of Persuasion" and "On Doubts," Han Fei made a superb description of the arduous, devious and complex struggle of the rising landlord class in the state of Han. "Solitary Indignation" gave concentrated expression to the indignation of the Legalists at, and their critique of, the slave-owning nobles that had usurped political power. Han Fei accused the slave-owning nobles in power of pursuing a bloody policy of openly suppressing and plotting to assassinate the Legalists, with the result that Legalists in the state of Han "were either condemned to death by officials or killed by assassins." It was these facts of bloody class struggle that enabled Han Fei to realize that "people well versed in law and people in power are irreconcilable enemies." ("Solitary Indignation") The struggle between representatives of two classes--the rising landlord class and the slave-owning aristocracy--was a life-and-death struggle between two opposing classes.

Chairman Mao points out: "All revolutionary struggles are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it. The desperate struggle by the counter-revolutionary forces against the revolutionary forces is also completely aimed at maintaining their political power." In the course of setting up a feudal dynasty in China, the rising landlord class had similarly experienced an acute and protracted struggle and met with desperate resistance by the slave-owning aristocracy in its effort to seize political power from the latter and consolidate it. From the painful lessons drawn from the failure of the reform in Wei, Chao, Han and other states, Han Fei perceived that slave-owning aristocrat-careerists and conspirators who had sneaked into the organs of political power were the most dangerous enemies attempting to restore the order of the slave-owners and that "those big traitors who have violated laws all come from those respected important ministers." ("Internal Vigilance") This was determined by the special characteristics of the class struggle in the late Warring States period. In that period, the various states had entered the stage of feudal society in differing degrees, and an important way for the slave-owning aristocrats to restore the old order was for them to sneak into the machinery of the feudal state to usurp power. After they had usurped a part of power, they "acted at will without regard for the law and used the handle of state power for their own private ends." ("The Sovereign") And they changed the Legalist line. Once the conditions were ripe, they "staged a coup and seized state power at one stroke," ("On Doubts") thereby restoring the slave system.

Han Fei particularly underscored the importance of discerning and exposing the double-dealing tactics of the slave-owning aristocracy. In the late Warring States period, all slave-owning aristocrats holding power in Han and other states were malicious, relentless political swindlers who "confused right and wrong, were deceitful and vicious inwardly, and pretended to be prudent outwardly in order to make people believe that they were good." ("On Doubts") In appearance, they pretended to be honest, but actually they were very crafty. Those "influential people" of the slave-owning aristocrats had not only a political line for restoring the slave

system but also an organizational line in gathering turncoats and renegades. To prevent the slave-owning aristocracy from usurping power, it was necessary to smash the slave-owning restorationist clique and eliminate its diehards--to "wage struggle to disband the cliques." ("The Eight Villainies") In concrete terms, it was necessary to "smash their cliques, arrest their backers, shut the gate, deprive them of all hope of support," ("The Way of the Ruler") and to exercise a powerful dictatorship by the landlord class.

After summing up the experiences and lessons of his Legalist predecessors in carrying out reforms, Han Fei set forth a set of theories on the dictatorship of the landlord class combining "law," "the art of government" and "power." "Law" refers to the policies, laws and orders embodying the will of the rising landlord class, which should be vigorously propagated and made known to every household and person. "The art of government" denotes the tactics used to wage political struggle according to the Legalist line, including the methods and means of appointing and dismissing officials at various levels, checking their performances and rewarding or punishing them accordingly. And "power" means the status and power of a ruler. None of the three was dispensable, but "law" was the most basic. Han Fei stressed "taking the law as the foundation" ("Hidden Evils") because "law" concretely embodied the Legalist line. The importance of "the art of government" and "power" lay in the fact that they were the prerequisites for insuring the implementation of the "law." Han Fei held that when these three were applied in combination, it would be possible to found a feudal state under autocratic monarchy with centralization of power. In this way, "government reaches to the four quarters, but its source is in the center. The sage holds to the source and the four quarters come to serve him." ("Wielding Power") Such was a concise generalization of landlord class centralization of power. To implement this line of "rule of law," Han Fei resolutely opposed the systems of principality and hereditary office and emolument under slavery, stressing: "Although the ministers receive a large emolument, they must not make use of their authority to dominate the cities; although they have many followers, they must not have their own troops." ("Respect of Officials") No slave-owning aristocrats were allowed to build up independent kingdoms in their fiefs or to have their own private armed forces. He insisted that all officials and military forces must be put under the unified control and command of the landlord class state.

As an ideology designed to consolidate the dictatorship of the landlord class, Han Fei's theory of "rule of law" naturally also stressed the suppression of the laboring people, and of this we must make a critical analysis and evaluation. The dictatorship of all exploiting classes is invariably exercised by a minority of people over the majority; it is only the dictatorship of the proletariat that is exercised by the vast majority over the minority of exploiters. For this reason, the proletariat can and must mobilize the strength of the broad masses to consolidate its dictatorship and prevent capitalist restoration. Exploiting classes, even during their ascendancy, are unable to come forward with any measures to prevent restoration by relying on the masses of people. It is only when their rule is threatened by the restoration activities of the

reactionary classes that they need to utilize the strength of the people. "Han Fei Tzu," which provided the ideological weapon for building the dictatorship of the landlord class, did not and could not go beyond the limitations of the landlord class. However, under the historical conditions at that time, it did deal a telling blow to the splitting and restorationist conspiracies of the slave-owning aristocrats. Later on, it was by using Han Fei's theory of "rule of law" as his ideological weapon that Ch'in Shih Huang abolished fiefdom, set up the prefectural system, unified the six states and established a feudal country with centralized power.

Han Fei was full of confidence in the future of the struggle waged by the Legalists against the "influential people," a confidence which reflected the vigorous spiritual outlook of the revolutionary landlord class on the rise. At that time a Confucian scholar by the name of T'ang Hsi-kung threatened Han Fei with the brutal killing of Wu Ch'i and Shang Yang, saying that "the establishment of laws and political policies and setting up of systems and measures" would also inevitably result in "danger to life and limbs." He urged Han Fei to "submit to propriety and resort to courtesy" and give up his struggle. Han Fei answered flatly that it was a "greedy and mean act" for any one who followed the Legalist line to think about such matters as to "avoid the disaster of being killed." ("Question on Farming") Here Han Fei fully demonstrated the uncompromising spirit of the progressive class. Not only did he refuse to "submit to propriety" and "resort to courtesy", but he also pointed out that "one who favors a complex multiplicity of rites indicates that his mind is decaying" and "one who must decorate himself to show his quality indicates that his quality is declining." ("Understanding Lao Tzu") However the Confucianists might decorate their facades by trumpeting "propriety," they could not change their declining destiny.

Since ancient times, all the Confucius-worshipping reactionaries have had inveterate hatred against Han Fei's theories, and embellished the "rule of propriety" advocated by Confucius and Mencius by every possible means. This does not indicate that they are strong; on the contrary, it shows their "declining quality." Lin Piao rapped the Legalists as "punishers" and took "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" as his daily reminder in a vain attempt to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship and socialist system in our country This also serves to demonstrate that he was as incurable as all the declining, corrupt reactionaries. The history of the People's Republic of China since its founding 25 years ago fully speaks for the great vitality and superiority of the new socialist system. "Only socialism can save China." However much reactionaries both at home and abroad may curse us, our socialist motherland will surely march forward triumphantly in the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

III.

In summing up the struggles against the restorationist conspiracies of the slave-owning aristocrats, Han Fei also offered an important experience--it is necessary to criticize the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. As indicated by the experience of class struggle during the Warring States period, it was more difficult to thoroughly criticize the reactionary theories of the Confucian school than to organizationally overthrow a group of

slave-owning restorationists. The problem of counter-restoration remained unsolved during the several centuries of struggle waged by the rising landlord class against the slave-owning class prior to Han Fei's time. One of the many important reasons was the failure to deeply criticize the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius.

The Legalists gradually increased their knowledge of the danger of Confucianism in the course of struggle. Shang Yang called for "burning the Book of Odes and Book of Documents and elucidating the laws and regulations." ("Mr. Ho") He denounced the Confucianist "rites and music," "The Books of Odes and Documents," "benevolence and righteousness" and "filial piety and brotherly love" as the "six fleas." Yet Shang Yang directed his major efforts toward effecting reforms without systematically criticizing the restorationist theories of the Confucian school from the ideological viewpoint. With the deepening of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist lines during the late stages of the Warring States, criticism of Confucius became a pressing necessity in opposing the slave-owners restorationist activities. Fighting his way out from the Confucianist camp, Hsün K'uang launched a vigorous counter-attack on the clamorous reactionary Confucianist ideology represented by Mencius. Inheriting Shang Yang's Legalist thinking, he regarded the Confucianist school represented by Mencius and its theories as "evil words" that caused "the confusion of right and wrong and order and disorder under Heaven." ("Refuting the 12 Disciples, Hsün Tzu") He called for an uncompromising struggle against them. Han Fei inherited and developed the tradition of the Legalist school in criticizing Confucianism since Shang Yang and Hsün K'uang and elevated criticism of Confucianism to the key position in the struggle against restoration. In his "Five Vermin," "Eminence in Learning," "Loyalty and Filial Piety" and other works, Han Fei swept away reactionary Confucianist thinking with the force of a landslide. He severely denounced the "five vermin" endangering the rule of the landlord class and put the Confucianists at the head of the "five vermin," thus grasping the essence of the problem. Maintaining that the dictatorship of the landlord class could not be established and consolidated without a critique of the reactionary Confucianist theories, Hen Fei pointed out explicitly: "The Confucians pay the highest honor to Confucius" ("Eminence in Learning") and "Confucius' sayings are words that can ruin a state." ("Three Difficulties") It may be said that Han Fei was first among the Legalists of the pre-Ch'in period to openly criticize Confucius by name. He sharply exposed the Confucian followers of Confucius and Mencius for using "private teaching" to conduct restorationist activities, saying that "those who rebel against superiors and oppose the people are the two-faced Confucianists running private schools." ("Treachery") He called the Confucian school a two-faced "private school" running against the regime of the landlord class at that time, pointing out that this kind of "private school" was characterized by "rebelling against the superiors and opposing the people" and its opposition to the revolution by the then landlord class. In short, Han Fei concluded that to prevent such restorationist activities it was necessary to "extinguish literature and elucidate the laws and regulations." ("Eight Sayings") In other words, it was necessary to exercise dictatorship over the Confucianists and defend the political and ideological line of the Legalist school.

With a view to propelling the struggle against restoration, Han Fei scathingly criticized the Confucianist thinking of restoring the ancient ways. All the disciples of Confucius and Mencius were obsessed with returning to the past and frenziedly opposed any social reform. Han Fei sternly rebuffed the Confucianist fallacy "Never change old ways, never depart from established customs." ("Facing South") Citing a host of facts of social changes and historical development, he eloquently explained the truth that "Past and present have different customs; new and old adopt different measures," ("The Five Vermin") thus proving the continuous development of social history. Inheriting and developing the theory of Shang Yang who advocated that "since world affairs change, the ways of doing things ought to alter too," ("Opening Up the Mind, Book of Shang Yang") Han Fei divided the development of history into three stages--high antiquity, middle antiquity and recent antiquity--and considered that instead of things getting worse generation after generation, man continued to advance generation after generation. The social system had to change in keeping with the development of the times. "When the times have changed, those who do not change old ways will bring about disorder," ("Integrity") and "Those who fail to change old ways are often in fact prolonging the course of disorder." ("Facing South") He relentlessly laughed at "those who think they can keep the ways of the ancient kings and use them to govern the people of today" and said they were as foolish as the "stump watchers!" ("The Five Vermin") He pointed out that Confucius praised King Wen. "By taking King Wen as a wise man, did he do something wrong?" ("Two Difficulties") Not only was it wrong to praise King Wen, but to have blind faith in all ancient kings was to be "a fool and imposter." ("Eminence in Learning") The contention between "imitating the early kings" and "imitating the later kings" is in essence a question of establishing a dictatorship of which class. Han Fei pointed out that the Confucianists "read the ancient books" for the purpose of "causing confusion in the current administration," ("Rape, Plunder, and Slaying of Ministers") "praising the ways of the ancient kings" in order to "cast doubt upon the laws of the time and cause the ruler to be of two minds." ("The Five Vermin") In other words, they sabotaged and weakened the political power of the rising landlord class and shook people's determination to enforce the "rule of law." In view of the restorationist activities of the Confucianists who invoked the "ancient rulers" to suppress the "present rulers," Han Fei courageously criticized the so-called sages advertised by the Confucianists. He said: "Yao, Shun, T'ang and Wu violated the principle governing relationship between the sovereign and his subjects and confused posterity in education." ("Loyalty and Filial Piety") At the same time, he praised the progressive cause of the rising landlord class and advocated "teaching the laws" and "learning from officials." He held that if there was anyone today who still advocated the methods of rule of Yao, Shun, T'ang and King Wu of Chou, he would be laughed at by the "new sages" of today. He was firmly convinced: "He who would surpass the Five Emperors of antiquity and rival the Three Kings must proceed by this method." ("The Five Vermin") Of course, Han Fei did not and could not possibly know that the slave system itself also went through a historical process of emergence, development and decline. But by bringing out the "new sages" of the landlord class and trampling underfoot the "ancient rulers" of the slave-owning class, he played a great role in political mobilization at a time when all fetishes were to be swept away and people's minds were to be emancipated.

Han Fei also criticized the Confucianist theory of "benevolent government" and expounded the necessity of violent revolution by the landlord class. He pointed out: "So I say that as circumstances change the ways of dealing with them alter too. Men of high antiquity strove for moral virtue; men of middle times sought out wise schemers; men of today vie to be known for strength and spirit." ("The Five Vermin") He stressed that it was necessary to "vie to be known for strength and spirit today." In essence he affirmed that the Warring States period was one of revolution by the landlord class. As a representative of the rising landlord class and adapting to the trend of historical development at the time, Han Fei dared to openly express his views and had the righteous courage to speak up loud and clear for the establishment of a new social system. In contrast, faced by the political situation in which the slave-owning class was in continuing decline, Confucius, Mencius and their like did not have the courage to openly express their political intentions, but only preached such things as "benevolence, righteousness and virtue" to embellish the dictatorship of the slave-owners and oppose the violent revolution of the landlord class. In "Outer Discussions on the Right, Part I," Han Fei related this story: Once, Tzu Lu, a disciple of Confucius, prepared some gruel for slaves digging ditches. When Confucius heard about this, he flew into a rage, feeling that this was a violation of the "rites of Chou." He promptly sent Tzu Kung and others to stop him from doing that. The gruel was spilled on the ground and the pot was smashed. Greatly embarrassed, Tzu Lu sulkily went to Confucius and said to him: "I was just practicing benevolence and righteousness! Haven't you taught us every day to observe benevolence and righteousness? Why did you stop me from preparing some gruel for them?" What an irony to Confucius, on whose lips were "benevolence and righteousness" every day!

Han Fei not only exposed the hypocrisy of "benevolence and righteousness" preached by Confucius and Mencius but also analyzed the danger of "benevolence and righteousness." He said: "Today everyone is saying that 'the man who will bring honor to his sovereign and peace to the state must be one who practices benevolence and righteousness and is intelligent and able.' No one knows that it is precisely this kind of man who will bring humiliation to his sovereign and disaster to the state." ("On Doubts") In the eyes of the Confucianists, "benevolence and righteousness" could "bring honor to the sovereign and peace to the state," that is, the "sovereign" and "state" of the slave-owning class. In the eyes of the Legalists, "benevolence and righteousness" would certainly "bring humiliation to the sovereign and disaster to the state," that is, the "sovereign" and "state" of the landlord class. "Indulge in kindness and benevolence and the laws and regulations will be destroyed." ("The Eight villianies") The consequences of "benevolence" meant the destruction of the dictatorship of the landlord class. A ruler who let himself be cheated into practicing "benevolence and righteousness" would end up with "the loss of his entire state and his own life at worst, or the loss of some territory and humiliation for himself at best." Han Fei concluded: "Therefore, I have come to understand that benevolence, righteousness, love and kindness are useless, and that harsh punishments can make the state orderly." ("Rape, Plunder and Slaying of Ministers") In the last analysis, this was a revolution, and there was no room at all for "benevolence, righteousness,

love and kindness." Such was Han Fei's answer to the "benevolence and righteousness" preached by the Confucianists.

Here, what is worth mentioning is the crude dialectical views expressed by Han Fei in the course of criticizing Confucianism. He gave extremely great attention to the study of "Lao Tzu," from which he absorbed the dialectical elements and positively transformed them. This was how "Understanding Lao Tzu" and "Learning from Lao Tzu," the two shining writings in the pre-Ch'in history of philosophy, came into being. Due to different class stands, in the hands of Lao Tan the Taoist, dominated by the idealist world outlook, the dialectical elements were utilized to defend the declining slave system and manifested themselves as negative things. In contrast, in the hands of Han Fei the Legalist, the same dialectical elements were used entirely to defend the rising feudal system and thus manifested themselves as positive things. Han Fei used crude dialectics as his ideological weapon and sharply refuted the Confucianist metaphysical theory that nothing ever changes and the doctrine of the mean. He said: "Things exist and cease to exist, live and die, first bloom and later decay. There is nothing that remains constant." ("Understanding Lao Tzu") He absolutely denied that there was anything eternal and unchangeable. Using this crude dialectical thinking to study social history, he arrived at the conclusion that social systems must change to adapt to the development of the times. He put forward the militant slogan "Do not try to practice the ways of antiquity or to abide by a fixed standard ("The Five Vermin"), thus providing a theoretical basis for the cause of reform of the rising landlord class. The doctrine of the mean of Confucius and Mencius was a doctrine for sticking to the old ways and restoring the old order. It preached compromise and conciliation and stressed the need to maintain the stability of old values. Han Fei, proceeding from the stand of the rising landlord class, firmly opposed compromise and conciliation. He pointed out explicitly: "Motly and contradictory doctrines cannot exist side by side and produce a state of order", ("Eminence in Learning") stressing that there was no room for conciliation between the Confucian and the Legalist schools. Han Fei faithfully practiced the theories he himself proposed and dedicated his life to the heroic struggle to sweep away the reactionary Confucianism.

By making a systematic critique of the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, Han Fei reached an outstanding level that could possibly be reached in his time. However, he could not correctly see the laws governing the development of social history, nor could he see the great role of the masses of the people in making history. He explained all historical developments as results of "the work of the sages." In other words, history was never made by slaves; it was made by a few heroes. Because he failed to see the strength of the laboring people, in his writings such as "Solitary Indignation," he always felt himself lonely and weak. He saw the appearance of social contradictions as caused by population growth, thinking that in ancient times "the people were few, there was an abundance of goods, and so no one quarreled," but later "the number of people increases, goods grow scarce, and men have to struggle and slave for a meager living. Therefore they fall to quarreling." ("The Five Vermin") He tried to explain social contradictions in economic terms, with the intention of negating

Confucius and Mencius' sermons on "benevolence and righteousness," but his conclusion fell into the erroneous "theory of population." This shows that in the final analysis, Han Fei's conception of history was still idealistic. This, too, determined that it was impossible for Han Fei to thoroughly repudiate the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, let alone completely defeating them. Especially, it was impossible for Han Fei to even think of criticizing such reactionary fallacies of the Confucianists to maintain the eternity of the exploiting system, such as "those who labor with their minds govern others; those who labor with their strength are governed by others." This was determined by the class nature of the landlord class. Only by using the Marxist viewpoint that history is made by slaves as the guide, and only by scientifically understanding the laws of social development, will it be possible to refute such reactionary ideas as "those who labor with their minds govern others; those who labor with their strength are governed by others." The historical task of thoroughly criticizing and defeating the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius can only be accomplished by the proletariat.

Han Fei once put forward this thesis: "To know oneself is wisdom." ("Learning from Lao Tzu") In other words, people should know themselves. But what a long and tortuous road man must travel before he can really know himself! Our great leader Chairman Mao points out: "For a very long period in history, men were necessarily confined to a one-sided understanding of the history of society because, for one thing, the bias of the exploiting classes always distorted history and, for another, the small scale of production limited man's outlook." Taking the stand of the rising landlord class, Han Fei summed up the experience of the class struggle at that time, and advanced quite a few incisive views. But after all, due to social and historical limitations, it was impossible for him to correctly understand the society of mankind, nor was it possible for him to correctly understand the class he represented. "It was not until the modern proletariat emerged along with immense forces of production (large-scale industry) that man was able to acquire a comprehensive, historical understanding of the development of society and turn this knowledge into a science, the science of Marxism." With Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the guide, we are able to correctly understand mankind, correctly understand the laws of social and historical development, expose and criticize the reactionary nature of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius on the high plane of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, draw a more comprehensive and scientific conclusion on class struggles in history, including the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools, and use this knowledge to serve the opposition to revisionism, the prevention of capitalist restoration and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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Critique of the Ch'eng Brothers by the Insurgent Army of Li Tzu-ch'eng

by

Chung Chou (钟 宙)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 9, Sept. 1, 1974)

Ch'eng Hao (程顥 1032 A.D.-1085) and Ch'eng I (程頤 1033 A.D. - 1107) were representatives of the Confucianist school during the period of Northern Sung, founders of the reactionary school of reason. Remodelled and elucidated by them, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius became higher in status and wider in pernicious influence. Apologists of the feudal system flattered the Ch'eng brothers for "restoring to the world the way of the sages." ("Stone Monuments in Commemoration of Virtuous Men of Past Ages") After Northern Sung, reactionary rulers of successive ages, members of the landlord class in its descent, prized the school of reason founded by the Ch'eng brothers as a magic wand with which to preserve their daily declining reactionary rule. Praise of the Ch'eng-Chu school of reason has been lavished by the Kuomintang reactionaries and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. Like these reactionaries, renegade and traitor Lin Piao, seeking a counter-revolutionary ideological weapon from the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius for his attempt to usurp power and restore the old order, went so far as to stick the label "materialism" on the idealistic Confucianism. On the other hand, the laboring people who have always hated Confucius bitterly and despised the Ch'eng brothers, severely denounced and criticized their reactionary ideas. The struggle waged by the peasant insurgent army led by Li Tzu-ch'eng to lash out at the two Ch'engs and their reactionary school of reason in the last years of the Ming Dynasty was one by the laboring people to oppose Confucius at that time. Their struggle provided an impetus to the development of history; their magnificent exploits added a dazzling page to the annals of struggle of the Chinese laboring people.

I.

Ch'eng Hao and Ch'eng I lived in a time marked by the gradual decline of Chinese feudal society. A serious situation of daily sharpening of class and national contradictions was brought about by the reactionary line of expanding acquisitions at home and capitulation abroad adopted by the feudal ruling clique of the Northern Sung Dynasty. Peasant uprisings rose one after another, shaking the reactionary rule of the landlord class to its very foundation. The Ch'eng brothers dished up the reactionary school of reason for the purpose of countering the massive attacks by the peasantry, intensifying the suppression of the peasants, and defending the tottering Northern Sung Dynasty.

A further development of the landlord class line of worshipping Confucianism and opposing Legalism, the reactionary school of reason cooked up by the Ch'eng brothers consisted of counter-revolutionary theories which

justified exploitation and suppression but not rebellion and considered revolution as a crime. It was a soft knife with which the landlord class killed people without drawing blood. It reflected in a concentrated manner the wishes of the landlord class at a time when the feudal society was deteriorating. It filled the political needs of the reactionary classes in opposing reform and revolution and in rolling the wheel of history back. Above all, it played a special role in bolstering the crumbling reactionary rule. That was why the Ch'eng brothers and their reactionary rationalism were revered by the reactionaries of later generations. Particularly, after they were developed by Chu Hsi, these reactionary sermons turned into an unquestioned feudal code of laws. Meanwhile, the prestige of the Ch'eng brothers was elevated higher and higher. After reading the reactionary writings of the Ch'eng brothers, Emperor Li Tsung of Southern Sung felt that these works provided "a lot of illuminating and fertile ideas," and posthumously conferred on Ch'eng Hao the title of Earl of Honan and Ch'eng I the title of Earl of I-yang. As a demonstration of his pro-Confucianist and anti-Legalist stand, he ordered the tablet of Wang An-shih to be replaced by the tablets of the Ch'eng brothers in the Confucius temple. From then on the Confucianist orthodox status of the reactionary school of reason was established.

By the Ming Dynasty the feudal system became even more decadent and reactionary. Following the appearance of incipient capitalism within the feudal society, the grave crises and the various intensified contradictions in the feudal society were manifested in an unprecedentedly acute form. Anti-feudal struggles waged by the people of city and town, with the peasant revolution as the mainspring, erupted like storms in various parts of the country. The Ming Dynasty after the 16th century was like an edifice with dislocated props, likely to crumble any day. To arrest the decline of the feudal society, the Ming feudal ruling class, on the one hand, strengthened the state machine of the landlord class dictatorship and, wielding the butcher knife, bloodily suppressed the resistance of the people. On the other hand, it made the reactionary school of reason the dominating ideology and put all propaganda machines to work vigorously publicizing the Ch'eng-Chu school of reason and further tightening up the dictatorship over the peasants in the ideological sphere. Motivated by this extremely reactionary political goal, the Ming feudal ruling clique stirred up an even bigger counter-revolutionary adverse current of worshipping Confucius and adoring the Ch'engs. With tongue in cheek, they extolled Confucius as the "greatest sage and foremost teacher" and Mencius as the "lesser sage." They said that the Ch'engs were "genuine Confucianists" whose meritorious service was "naturally not less than that of Mencius." (Lin Ying-lung, "Notes on Repair of the Ancestral Hall and Tablets of the Two Ch'eng Masters by Imperial Orders") Taking advantage of its political power, the Ming government continued to issue decrees for offering sacrifices to the Ch'engs, allocated funds for the repair and expansion of the Ch'eng tombs, and ancestral halls and colleges dedicated to the two Ch'engs. Not only that, but the Ming feudal rulers bestowed honors on the direct descendants of the Ch'eng brothers. In 1455 A.D. Emperor Tai Tsung of Ming conferred on Ch'eng K'o-jen, 16th-generation grandson of the Ch'engs, the title of "Doctor of Five Classics of the Hanli Academy," which title was to be hereditary, and exempted him and his descendants from labor service. In 1489 A.D. Emperor Hsiao Tsung of Ming ordered the transfer of the Ch'eng's descendants from the register of common people to the "register of virtuous men." With such blessings and support of the Ming feudal rulers,

not only was the status of the Ch'engs brothers raised to an unprecedented height, but their descendants became big landlords who enjoyed all sorts of privileges while perpetrating all kinds of sins.

II.

Chairman Mao points out: "The huge wheel of history cannot be dragged back." ("Constitutional Government of New Democracy") The feudal rulers of the Ming Dynasty, a band of extremely subjective idealists, thought that, by bringing out the dead souls of the two Ch'engs and greatly commending them and their reactionary school of reason, they could stop the tides of the peasant revolution and save themselves from extinction. The results, however, were completely contrary to their subjective desires. The fact that joss-sticks burned throughout the year in the temple and ancestral hall of the two Ch'engs could not cover up the crimes of the landlord class in brutally exploiting and bloodily suppressing the peasants. Nor could the four ropes [political authority, clan authority, religious authority and the authority of the husband], made all the stronger by the reactionary school of reason of the two Ch'engs, bind the hands and feet of the revolutionary peasants. The broad masses of laboring people, particularly the most persecuted ones in Sung hsien, hometown of the two Ch'engs and in I-ch'uan, where the Ch'eng tombs were located, launched counter-attacks in various forms against the adverse current of worshipping Confucius and venerating the Ch'engs stirred up by the Ming feudal rulers. The people of the Mingkao area in I-ch'uan boycotted the repair of the I-ch'uan College and the recheck of the farm acreage owned by that college carried out by the descendants of the Ch'engs. This struggle shattered the plots of the landlord class. "The inquiry into the land was stopped, and the College lay in ruin." (Wang Chi, "Notes on Repair of I-ch'uan College") The uprising led by Li Tzu-ch'eng in the last years of the Ming Dynasty brought about a new high tide in the peasant revolutionary struggle. Peasant masses in their millions, gathering around the insurgent army of Li Tzu-ch'eng and freeing themselves from the bondage, charged toward the battlefield against feudalism with the force of a hurricane. Not only did they wage a life-and-death struggle against the landlord class in the political, military and economic fields, but on the ideological front as well, they launched an attack on Confucius and the Ch'eng brothers, violently pounding at the reactionary school of reason centering on the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. In concrrete terms, the following actions were taken:

First, criticizing the man-eating school of reason with such revolutionary ideas as "equalization of landholding" and "abolition of grain tax."

The ideological line is the theoretical basis of the political line. Inheriting the reactionary mantle of Confucius and Tung Chung-shu, the Ch'eng brothers developed reactionary Confucianism into a school of reason, citing the "reason of Heaven" to prove the "rationality" and "eternity" of the feudal system of exploitation. Babbling about what they called "riches and honors come from Heaven," ("Collection of Essays on Clarification of the Tao [Way], Complete Works of the Two Ch'engs") they claimed that the exploitation and oppression perpetuated by the landlord class and the

sufferings of the peasants were willed by Heaven, and asked the laboring people to accept their fate and not to rise up to rebel. With undaunted heroism, Li Tzu-ch'eng's insurgent army pointed out indignantly that the sufferings of the laboring people, far from being arranged by "Heaven's will," were due to "maladministration of the royal court," "heavy taxation," and the "exploitation of the poor by members of the royal household and high officials." This uncovered the "theory of Heavenly mandate" for what it was and brought to light the causes of the bankruptcy and poverty of the peasantry in those days. Freeing themselves from "three fears" and challenging the official orthodoxy, they called on the broad masses of the suffering laboring people in various areas to rise up to rebel. Hoisting the big banner of "practicing the way on behalf of Heaven, killing the rich and relieving the poor," they clearly made known their intention to "take over the country," to overthrow the Ming Dynasty which claimed to "act on the will of Heaven" and to turn the government of the landlord class into that of the peasant class. Thus on the ideological plane, they criticized the fallacy of "Heavenly reason" repeatedly preached by the Ch'eng brothers and the like.

The Ch'eng brothers also put forward the reactionary political view that "those who rid themselves of selfish desires will know the reason of Heaven," ("Testament, Complete Works of the Two Ch'engs") regarding the man-eating feudal system as an embodiment of the "perfectly good" "reason of Heaven," while slandering the words and deeds against feudal rule as "all-evil" "selfish desires." They asked people to "do their best to restrain their selfish desires" and "refrain from saying or doing anything which is contrary to reason." ("The Testament of Ch'eng of Honan") Their reactionary aim was to ideologically uproot the just demands and revolutionary actions of the oppressed classes. Carrying forward and developing the revolutionary traditions of the peasant uprisings in Chinese history and taking into account the most urgent demands and aspirations of the peasantry at the time, Li Tzu-ch'eng's insurgent army categorically set forth the struggle program of "equalization of landholding" and "abolition of grain tax." In addition, it issued proclamations, compiled folksongs and organized propaganda teams which were sent to cities and countryside to inform and mobilize the masses for the attainment of "equalization of landholding and abolition of grain tax" and "expropriation of the rich to aid the poor." Besides, the struggle program for "equalization of landholding" and "abolition of grain tax" was made concrete by the formulation of policies designed to change the social outlook at that time with ideas of equalization and equality, to establish an ideal society in which "a happy life is enjoyed by the poor and by all people, young and old." (Chi Liu-ch'i, "Ming Chi Pei Lüeh") By making these revolutionary propositions, the insurgent army of Li Tzu-ch'eng not only devastatingly criticized the land ownership of feudal landlords and the "rationality" of exploitation of peasants, but at the same time boldly negated the reactionary school of reason which defended the feudal system of exploitation, thereby creating a powerful impact on the anti-feudal struggle.

Second, using revolutionary violence to sweep away the feudal order defended by the school of reason.

The Ch'eng brothers advocated that "distinctions established by the hierarchical system must not be overstepped," ("Complete Works of the Two Ch'engs") because "this is the reason of Heaven that cannot be challenged." ("Ch'eng's Testament in Honan") This was a futile attempt to bind the laboring people hand and foot. Giving tit for tat, wherever it went, the insurgent army of Li Tzu-ch'eng "killed the rich and aided the poor." "Eliminating evils on behalf of the people," it executed a group of feudal princes, members of the imperial households, bureaucrats, landlords and members of the gentry who had incurred a great deal of blood debts. It supported the peasants in taking back their land that had been forcibly seized by the landlords, and led them in taking over the property of government offices and landlords and distributing it to the poor peasants. They forced the aristocrats and landlords to observe the revolutionary laws and regulations, severely punishing those who violated them. The landlords cried out in alarm: After the peasant army had taken over Chengchow, "ruffians who were formerly slaves have become extremely defiant." "Masters (landlords) are forced to kneel before their servants (slaves)" "Countless families (of the aristocrats) have been wiped out." (Chang Ch'eng ,"The Story of Roving Rebels") From these counter-revolutionary statements we can see the cataclysmic changes that had taken place in society at that time. The feudal gradation system of "distinctions between the high and the low, the rich and the poor" was smashed; the reactionary credo that "distinctions established by the hierarchical system must not be overstepped" as trumpeted by the Ch'eng brothers was roundly condemned.

Chairman Mao points out: "The four authorities--political, clan, religious and masculine--are the embodiment of the whole feudal-patriarchal system and ideology, and are the four thick ropes binding the Chinese people, particularly the peasants." ("Report of an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan") While the Ch'eng brothers and the reactionary rulers of the Ming Dynasty spared no effort in utilizing the reactionary school of reason to make these four thick ropes stronger, the insurgent army of Li Tzu-ch'eng made the most of revolutionary means to topple the rule of the "four authorities." Fighting along both banks of the Yellow River and south and north of the Yangtze River, the insurgent army smashed government offices and set up peasants revolutionary armed forces and political organs everywhere, demonstrating the determination and power of the revolutionary peasants in overthrowing the feudal political power. They destroyed temples and smashed the clay models of town and village gods in a demonstration of their boldness to deny the power of gods. They burned ancestral halls and smashed all tablets, thereby devastatingly criticizing the clan authority. The broad masses of working women, the most oppressed, bravely charged toward the battlefield to take the enemy and, along with their class brothers, dedicated themselves to the cause of peasant uprisings, thereby effectively battering the man-eating ethics of "men are superior and women are inferior" as advocated by Confucius and the Ch'eng brothers. Such revolutionary actions destroyed the prerogatives of the landlord class, with the result that feudal "conventions and rules are all swept away." Such a sweeping operation was unparalleled both in depth and breadth.

Third, hitting at the adverse current of worshipping Confucius and honoring the Ch'eng brothers.

All culture "belongs to definite classes and is geared to definite political lines." ("Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art") During the period of the Ming Dynasty, vigorous efforts were made to publish reactionary Confucian books and to build on a large scale all kinds of structures for worshipping Confucius and honoring the Ch'engs. This was a counter-revolutionary measure taken by the reactionaries at that time to suppress the resistance of the laboring people and progressive forces and to intensify ideological control. In view of this adverse current of worshipping Confucius and honoring the Ch'engs, the insurgent army of Li Tzu-ch'eng extensively launched the struggle for burning Confucian books and destroying structures used for worshipping Confucius and honoring the Ch'eng brothers.

Wherever the insurgent army went, it burned down Confucian temples. The clay model of Confucius, venerated as the "greatest sage and foremost teacher" by the Ming reactionaries, was thrown to the ground and trampled underfoot. According to Liu Chung-shu's "Records of Confucian Temples and Monuments," Confucian temples in various places "have almost all disappeared without a trace." The Confucian temple in Sung hsien "lay in ruin" and sacrificial vessels and musical instruments "were either destroyed or missing." In Mienchih and Yehhsien Confucian temples were burned and reduced to ashes. In I-yang (present-day Juyang of Honan) what remained of the Confucian temples "were just two columns of the main hall." (Wang Shih-tsung, "Notes on Repair of Confucian Temples.") The insurgent army also held the Confucian "classics" in utter scorn, destroying large numbers of Confucian books by fire. They drove into Sung hsien, where they burned all the "Four Books," "Five Classics," and the "Complete Works of the Two Ch'engs" tucked away as treasure in the Ch'eng temple and smashed all stone monuments erected by the Confucian devotees since Sung and Ming to commend the Ch'eng brothers. "Official records and documents" kept by the feudal government offices in Sung hsien were also burned by the insurgent army, and "none is preserved." ("Yuanhsu, Records of Sung Hsien")

Ancestral halls and temples built for the Ch'eng brothers were where the feudal rulers offered their sacrifices to the Ch'engs. Special ancestral halls built by the landlord class of the Ming Dynasty for the two Ch'engs numbered no less than 20 in Honan. Under the blows of the peasant rebels, the two Ch'eng ancestral halls in Ch'eng Village of Sung hsien, second only to the Confucian temple in Chufu in scale and grandeur, "lay in ruins, the sacrificial vessels missing." ("Notes on Ancestral Halls and Tombs of the Two Ch'engs") The two Ch'eng ancestral halls in Honan prefecture (present-day Loyang of Honan), "with a sacrificial system similar to that of the Confucian temple," also at that time "lay in ruins" (Wu P'an-lung, "Notes on Repair of the Ancestral Hall of the Two Ch'eng Masters") and "reduced to ashes." (Tung Tu-hsing, "Notes on Repair of the Ancestral Hall of the Masters of School of Reason") In addition, the insurgent army wrecked the Ch'eng tombs in I-ch'uan. Ch'eng's colleges and charitable schools built by the Ming landlord class were almost all burned down by the peasant rebels. These revolutionary actions taken by the insurgent peasants to burn reactionary Confucian books and records and destroy structures used for worshipping Confucius and honoring the Ch'engs fully demonstrated the utter contempt the laboring people held for Confucius and the Ch'eng brothers as well as their utter hatred against the Confucian traditional ideology of Confucius

and Mencius. The iron-clad historical evidence has relentlessly torn off the masks of all Confucius worshippers and effectively belied the shameless rumors spread by the Soviet revisionists that "Confucianism" is a "cultural gem unique to China."

Fourth, slaughtering the reactionary Confucian scholars and the court scholars of the Ch'eng house.

The revolutionary undertaking of the insurgent army of Li Tzu-ch'eng to fight against feudalism and oppose Confucius and the Ch'eng brothers, having hurt the Ming feudal ruling clique and the reactionary Confucian scholars, particularly the "court scholars of the Ch'eng house," direct descendants of the Ch'eng brothers, led to their frantic counter-offensives. To deflate their reactionary arrogance, the insurgent army adopted the revolutionary measure of killing the reactionary Confucian scholars and the "court scholars of the Ch'eng house."

When the peasant army took Loyang, it captured alive the big bureaucrat-landlord Lü Wei-ch'i and a wealthy aristocrat Chu Ch'ang-hsün, Prince of Fu. Chu fell to his knees and begged for his life. Lü, reciting the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, attempted to put up a stubborn resistance and was summarily executed. When the insurgent army was closing on Sung hsien, Ch'eng Tsung-chou, a big landlord of the Ch'eng house, defended the town with government troops. In March, 1641, Li Tzu-ch'eng personally led the attack on the town of Sung hsien. Tenant peasants cruelly exploited and oppressed by the big landlords of the Ch'eng house rose up and joined the insurgent ranks. "Carrying door planks and armed with picks, they dug at the city wall and fell the old cypress trees of the imperial college for use as ladders." ("Records of Sung Hsien") Under the concerted attack by the insurgent army and the people, the town was taken in less than half a day. Ch'eng Tsung-chou was killed in the fighting. The peasant army pressed ahead with the victory and drove toward Ch'eng Village, "birthplace of the two Ch'engs." They charged into the Ch'engs ancestral hall and firmly suppressed the "court scholars of the Ch'eng house" who ruled like bullys in the village, resisted the uprising and were now defending the ancestral hall stubbornly. Ch'eng Chia-tso and Ch'eng Chieh-tao, hereditary doctors of the Five Classics of the Hanlin Academy, were executed at the foot of the Chiukao Mountains. This revolutionary action of the insurgent army so frightened the big landlords of the Ch'eng house that they fled in disguise for their lives. Terribly haunted, Ch'eng Tsung-ch'ang, grandson of the 20th generation of the Ch'engs, said: At that time they "did not have a peaceful place to live in and were almost starved to death. Eight or nine persons out of ten had to leave their home and flee to other places." (Tung Ssu-ning, "Notes on the Monument of the Scholar Masters of the Ch'engs") It was precisely these resolute repressive revolutionary actions taken by the insurgent peasants against the big landlords of the Ch'eng house that forced them to stop, within half a century, collecting rents from tenant peasants and forcing peasants to pay tributes or perform labor service. They were prevented from repairing the ancestral halls and temples for worship of the Ch'engs, the Ch'eng tombs and colleges. They did not even dare to hold the two sacrificial ceremonies in the spring and autumn each year.

III.

Chairman Mao points out: "Revolutionary violence is violent action by which one class overthrows another. The rural revolution is a revolution through which the peasant class overthrows the power of the feudal landlord class." ("Report of an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan") In the last years of the Ming Dynasty the struggle waged by the insurgent army of Li Tzu-ch'eng to lash out at the Ch'eng brothers and their reactionary school of reason was a component part of the struggle of the laboring people to overthrow the power of the feudal landlord class at that time, fully demonstrating the formidable might of the peasant revolutionary war. In feudal society peasant uprisings were the real motive force in propelling the development of history as well as constituting the most active force in the struggle to oppose and criticize Confucius.

This great peasant revolutionary struggle tells us: Where there are people who worship Confucius, there are others who oppose him, and the greater the worship, the fiercer the opposition. Those who worship Confucius are only a small band of reactionaries. The laboring people want progress and revolution, and they have to smash the heavy spiritual yokes--the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius--imposed on the backs of the Chinese people. The valiant struggle waged by the peasant insurgent army of Li Tzu-ch'eng to attack the Ch'eng brothers had performed immortal historical merit in the history of the anti-Confucius struggle of the Chinese people. However, due to class and epochal limitations, they did not represent the new productive forces, nor could they establish new relations of production to replace the feudal ones, let alone using the scientific world outlook to thoroughly reveal and criticize the reactionary class essence of Confucianism. This task was thrust on the proletariat by history. Only the proletariat, armed with the sharp weapon of Marxism and through prolonged and repeated struggle, can thoroughly criticize and defeat the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius.

Lin Piao and company, taking over the mantle of reactionaries of past ages and hoisting the tattered banner of worshipping Confucius and honoring Confucianism, regarded "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" as a daily reminder, vainly attempting to use the ghost of Confucius to revive capitalism and to serve their plot for counter-revolutionary restoration. However, under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship, such perverse acts cannot but be thoroughly crushed.

In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, which is currently developing in depth, we must make an earnest effort to study and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as a weapon for combat. We must seriously study the history of the Confucianist-Legalist struggle and the history of the class struggle as a whole. We must read Legalist works. We must bring the role of the workers, peasants and soldiers as the main force into full play, unite with all intellectuals who are willing to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and develop the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius in a penetrating, widespread and sustained manner. We must carry through to the end this political and ideological struggle in the superstructure through which Marxism will prevail over revisionism and the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

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Persevere in Reading and Studying While Criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius

by

the Party Committee of Tientsin No. 2 Textile Mill

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 9, Sept. 1, 1974)

Since the start of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we have acted on Chairman Mao's teaching, "Read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism." By earnestly strengthening leadership and sticking to the study system, we have organized the workers of the entire mill to read and study conscientiously in conjunction with the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, placing the emphasis on studying Chairman Mao's "On Contradiction" and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and Lenin's "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism." A part of the cadres and workers have also studied Marx's "Critique of the Gotha Program" and other works. Through study, the workers of the entire mill have raised their ideological level and critical ability. A contingent of theorists has been formed. Under the leadership of the Party committee, the cadres, the workers and the hardcores among theorists, working jointly and using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as their guide, have compiled and written a number of lectures dealing with such topics as "The History of Struggle between Confucianism and Legalism" and "Anti-Confucius Struggle of the Laboring People in History." These lectures have been delivered among the masses inside and outside the mill more than 70 times. They have annotated some works by representatives of the Legalist school including Shang Yang, Han Fei and Liu Tsung-yüan, and have gone further in criticizing bad books propagating the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius including "Confucian Analects," "Doctrine of the Mean," "Mencius" and "San Tzu Ching" and other reactionary sayings, thereby giving an impetus to the continuous, penetrating development of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

In criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, the question of whether to persistently read the works by Marx and Lenin and Chairman Mao's writings has been gradually understood and correctly solved in struggle. At the outset some comrades held that study of Marxist-Leninist works could "in no way be tied up" with the current struggle and that reading and study should "give way" to the movement. The Party committee promptly held a debate and aroused the masses to hold discussions. It was unanimously agreed that this idea was wrong. Marxism is "a universally applicable" truth, the science guiding the cause of proletarian revolution to victory, and a powerful ideological weapon for combating and preventing revisionism. "Our struggle needs Marxism." The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is a political and ideological struggle in the spheres of the superstructure through which Marxism will defeat revisionism and the proletariat, the bourgeoisie. What do we use to fight against the enemy? The workers say rightly: "To strike a wolf, we need a club. To kill the enemy, we need a gun. To criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we need Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought." Warm-hearted discussions led all to see that in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, whether or not we persevere

in reading and studying and grasp the ideological weapon is the key to whether or not we can carry out this struggle triumphantly. Hence, they have further raised their consciousness in persistently reading and studying while criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius.

Through the practice of study, we have learned profoundly that only by persevering in reading and studying to grasp the ideological weapon can we thoroughly criticize Lin Piao's revisionist line and the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. After the initiation of criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the workers of the whole mill, with proletarian righteous indignation, roundly criticized Lin Piao's towering crimes in imitating Confucius in advocating "restraining ourself and returning to propriety" and frenziedly attempting to restore capitalism. But, some comrades, making criticism for its own sake, failed to criticize deeply the reactionary essence of Lin Piao's advocacy of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and his class and ideological roots. The Party committee, studying once again Chairman Mao's teaching "perception can only solve phenomenal problems and theory alone can solve essential ones," realized that we could not grasp the essence and hit at the target if we relied solely on simple class feeling and personal experience without properly mastering Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Under the leadership of the Party committee, the workers and cadres repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's works such as "On Contradiction" and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and his important instructions issued since the great cultural revolution. Applying the law of unity of opposites, they further criticized, both politically and ideologically, the counter-revolutionary program of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety." Many workers said: Politically, the aim of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" is to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism; ideologically, the reactionary nature of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" lies in its opposition to progress in accordance with the law of social development and its insistence on regression against the law of social development. This fully betrayed Lin Piao's idealist, metaphysical, reactionary world outlook. "Superseding of the old by the new is a common, ever irresistible law of the universe." The proletariat is bound to defeat the bourgeoisie, socialism is bound to defeat capitalism, and "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" is doomed because it runs counter to the objective law of development of human history. This analysis enlightened all and helped them deepen their understanding. For another instance, workers of the mending section of the general dyeing workshop applying the Marxist theory on surplus value and in light of the brutal exploitation of the workers by the owner of this mill before the liberation, penetratingly criticized "benevolence," the core of Confucius' reactionary thinking. Before the liberation this mill was called "Jen Li" [founded on benevolence]. Actually, it was "founded" on surplus value created by the workers. In the past, although we workers were exploited by the capitalists, yet we did not know how they practiced exploitation. Marxism sharpened our eyes. Lenin pointed out: Under the capitalist system, "a worker uses a part of his time to earn wages to meet his own and his family budgets, and the other part of his time to do uncompensated labor,

to create surplus value for the capitalist, the source of profits and the source of the wealth of the capitalist class." This is true. In only 23 years after "Jen Li" was founded, the owner's total capital increased sharply by 30 times, and the mill was developed into several. This fully revealed the deceptive nature of "Jen Li". It also thoroughly exposed Confucius' "benevolence" as nothing but a cover-up for the abominable exploitation practiced by the reactionary declining class.

Only by persistently reading and studying and by further mastering the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method will it be possible to correctly analyze the historical phenomena, appraise historical figures, sum up historical experience, and take in useful things. Following the deep criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, study of the struggle between Confucianism and Legalism and of the history of class struggle as a whole has been broadened. In the course of study, some questions have been raised. For instance, what is the nature of the Confucian-Legalist struggle? How can we correctly appraise the connection between the progressive role of the Legalists and the creation of history by the masses of people? Why did the landlord class turn from honoring Legalism and opposing Confucianism to honoring Confucianism and opposing Legalism? And so forth. Some questions sometimes caused endless debates, and no correct answer was found. To answer these questions, we must master the essential historical data and, still more importantly, learn to apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to analysis and study. Chairman Mao points out: "Study our historical heritage and use the Marxist method to sum it up critically." Marxism is a pointer in studying history and a yardstick for measuring the right and the wrong. Without Marxism, we cannot correctly study and sum up historical experience. Under the leadership of the Party committee, the broad masses of workers have earnestly applied the Marxist theory on the productive forces and the relations of production to analyzing and knowing the objective laws of historical development leading to the inevitable replacement of the slave system by feudalism. Applying the concept that class struggle is the motive force for historical development, they analyzed and recognized the connection between slave and peasant uprisings and the progressive role of Legalism. Applying the "one divided into two" viewpoint, they analyzed and appraised historical figures. Applying the viewpoint of transformation of opposites into each other, they analyzed and understood the historical necessity of the landlord class turning from honoring Legalism and opposing Confucianism to honoring Confucianism and opposing Legalism. And so so and so forth.

Persistently reading and studying in the course of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, the workers of the mill have further deepened their understanding of the laws of class struggle during the socialist period and of the great significance of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. They have continuously raised their consciousness of carrying out the Party's basic line, promoted the rapid development of work in various fields, and consolidated and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat. The strip dyeing workshop was newly set up during the great cultural revolution, with its cadres and workers transferred from other workshops. At that time, some people held that, with the victory won in the great cultural revolution, attention should be focused on increasing production. As a result, class struggle was relaxed, the hidden class enemies took the opportunity to stir up trouble, and both revolution and production were hindered. The Party

branch of this workshop thereupon led the workers to conscientiously study "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and other works in light of realities, and to criticize the "theory of dying out of class struggle" trumpeted by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. They saw that throughout the historical period of socialism there are classes and class struggle, and there is the constant need not to forget class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Party's basic line. Today this workshop has undergone great changes in outlook, deepening the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and conscientiously grasping revolution and promoting production, eventually becoming an advanced unit. In all workshops the situation goes on improving, revolution developing step by step, and production increasing with each passing day. In the first half of this year our mill overfulfilled its state plan, with output value topping that of the corresponding period last year by 6.69 percent. At the same time, it has succeeded in several major technical innovation projects including easier operation of intensive spinning and automatic feeding for dyeing. Facts further prove that once the revolutionary theory is grasped by the masses it will become a great material force. Arming the masses with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought can tremendously promote socialist revolution and construction and provide the most reliable guarantee for opposing and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism.

In order to persevere in reading and studying while criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, we pay attention to integrating the study of the contingent of theorists with the study of the masses. As early as 1958, answering Chairman Mao's great call, the workers of our mill set up philosophical study groups, and a number of backbone worker theorists emerged. This played an exemplary and leading role in conducting study among the cadres and workers of the whole mill. Since the initiation of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the Party committee has summed up the past experience and further strengthened the building of the theoretical ranks. The responsible comrades of the Party committee personally take charge. With the political spare-time school and the workers' spare time theoretical groups as the base areas, a group of new backbone theorists has been brought up. There are at present 198 worker backbone theorists, accounting for about 11 percent of the mill's work force. They are distributed in all workshops, squad units, sections and offices. Each study group has one or two of these theorists. They form the backbone force leading the masses to study the works by Marx and Lenin and Chairman Mao's works. They ascend the platform to teach lessons, compile and write instructive materials, and answer questions, thus leading and helping the masses in study. While firmly grasping training of backbone theorists, we also pay attention to study among the broad masses of workers. Theorists should only help the masses in study and must in no way undertake study for them. The criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is a great revolutionary mass movement, and only when the broad masses have been armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought can this struggle be carried out victoriously. At the same time, we must also see that the theoretical contingent comes into being and grows up during the struggle of the mass movement. "We must first be pupils before we can be teachers." Theorists

must learn from the masses and draw on their wisdom and experience in order to raise their own level of study. Once the masses study well, more and more backbone theorists will come forward. Integrated in this way, theorists and the masses can spur on each other and improve together.

The key to persevering in reading and studying conscientiously during the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius lies with the leadership of the Party committee. Chairman Mao points out: "If the masses alone are active without a strong leading group to organize their activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level." We understand that in strengthening leadership, it is first necessary to strengthen ideological leadership, to promptly discover and solve problems of general nature in the course of study, and to continuously raise our consciousness in study, so that all can constantly maintain full enthusiasm in study. While effort is made to do a good job of ideological work, a good job must also be done of organizational work. A primary basic-level unit has so much work to do that study can easily be put aside due to improper arrangements. The Party committee must draw up an overall plan and make rational arrangements for various kinds of work and do everything possible to guarantee the necessary time for study. The fresh experience created by the masses must be summed up and popularized promptly, and the study among the masses should be continuously improved. Besides, it is also very important for the Party committee itself to take care of its own study. When the Party committee members study well, they can mobilize the masses effectively. When they slow down, they may fail to see clearly the problems of study among the masses, cannot answer the questions raised by the masses and will feel it difficult to deepen the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. That way, they will lose their initiative not only in directing the study, but also in leading the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The Party committee has adopted two measures in this regard: One, expanding the central study group of its standing committee to admit all Party committee members and the secretaries of the Party general branches, so that more leading cadres will study well the works by Marx and Lenin and Chairman Mao's works. Second, leading cadres periodically go to the workshops to take part in the study conducted by the workers' squad units, and the study conducted by the leading cadres and the study conducted by the masses are integrated, so that the leaders may learn from the workers and can easily discover and solve the problems in the study of the masses. In this way, a new atmosphere in which the masses urge on the leaders, the leaders bring the masses forward and one helps the other, learns from the other and tries to surpass the other has emerged in the whole mill.

Although we have done some work in persistently reading and studying, this is not enough, and is very far from meeting the Party's demands and the needs of actual struggle. At present, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is being carried out penetratingly, universally and protractedly. We are determined to get together with the workers of the whole mill to learn more and better.

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How We Carry Out Criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius

by

the Party Branch of Peking Municipal No. 112 Middle School

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In the past six months and more, our school has undergone rather great changes marked by a revolutionary, vigorous atmosphere. Why have these changes been possible? Both teachers and students attribute them to the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius.

At the beginning of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, some comrades did not understand clearly its vital significance. They were not sure how this movement should be carried out. They had some worries. We then repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's writings and the Party Central Committee's instructions on the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. We came to understand that the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is a political and ideological struggle in the sphere of superstructure through which Marxism will defeat revisionism and the proletariat, the bourgeoisie. It concerns such major issues as implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, consolidating and developing the achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution, strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, and preventing the restoration of capitalism. In a school, an important task of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius is, through the criticism of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, to repudiate the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, to hit hard at the reactionary ideas of restoring capitalism, to defend Chairman Mao's proletarian line on education, and to penetratingly carry out the proletarian revolution in education. Through study, we also have realized that in conducting criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius among the people and revolutionary teachers, the key task is to carry out an education in ideology and political line and raise their ideological consciousness. The "dignity of the teacher" is due to the pernicious influence of the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in the circles of education, and serves as an important means for Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and company to push the revisionist line of education and as an important tool used by the bourgeoisie in winning over successors from the proletariat. The revolutionary teachers and students have been victimized by the "dignity of the teacher." In criticizing the "dignity of the teacher", therefore, revolutionary teachers and students should jointly direct the spearhead at Lin Piao and Confucius. We have conscientiously implemented the Party's policies, firmly grasped the main orientation of struggle, relieved some teachers of their anxieties and correctly adjusted the students' ideological understanding. This has aroused the enthusiasm of revolutionary teachers and students for participating in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

How should the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius be carried out in accordance with the characteristics of the school? Our experience is this: Attention must be paid to integrating the movement with teaching and learning, integrating the movement in school with the movement in society, and integrating revolutionary mass criticism with the study of Marxism-

In integrating the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius with teaching and learning, it is first necessary to correctly view the relationship between the movement and teaching-learning. The fallacies of Confucius and Mencius have produced rather widespread influence in the sphere of education and the reactionary viewpoint of honoring Confucianism and opposing Legalism embodied in past middle and primary school textbooks have for a long time not been criticized. Therefore, it is necessary to take criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius as the key link, to deepen the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius in the teaching of various subjects, and thus to encourage further reform in education so as to relate the movement to teaching and learning. In various subjects in art or in science, effort must be made to link teaching with the movement and to serve proletarian politics. Following the in-depth development of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, our school has intensified criticism of idealist transcendentalism spread by Lin Piao and Confucius in teaching the subjects of mathematics, physics and chemistry. We have changed the former erroneous viewpoint of neglecting the practice of struggle by the laboring people and one-sidedly emphasizing the role of individuals in scientific inventions, and promoted the integration of theoretical teaching-learning with the practice of production. Teaching materials for literature, history and political science have been revised, discarding the viewpoint of honoring Confucianism and opposing Legalism and adding criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius to the content. The study of the history of the struggle between Confucianism and Legalism is taken as an important activity of teaching and learning. In connection with teaching and learning, junior classes selectively criticize the reactionary proverbs and sayings in the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius while senior classes criticize "San Tzu Ching", "The Doctrine of the Mean," and other evil books. For instance, the book "The Doctrine of the Mean" is filled with words difficult to understand and idealistic nonsense. Many teachers have not read it before. But students of Senior Class I, having great ambitions though young, have been cowed by difficulties. Displaying the revolutionary spirit in overcoming difficulties, they vie to be path-breakers in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, advancing against difficulties, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the teachers. They have eventually broken through the barrier and torn off the mask of the deceitful, restorationist "doctrine of the mean" preached by Lin Piao and Confucius. Eliminating fetishes and superstitions and liberating their mind, the revolutionary young fighters have bravely declared war on the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. In a short period of time, they have written more than 1,200 essays and more than 60 stories about the struggle between Confucianism and Legalism. They have also held an exhibition of reference material on the struggle between Confucianism and Legalism and delivered six instructive reports in the school, thus more systematically explaining the history of the struggle between Confucianism and Legalism from the Spring and Autumn and Warring States period to Ming and Ch'ing. These activities have not been divorced from normal teaching and learning, and they have helped improve the results of study in the course of struggle. The students say excitedly: "We have learned in two or three weeks more than we learned for a long time in the past. We have understood the history of class struggle and raised our consciousness of the two-line struggle."

We have also appropriately reformed the examination system, integrating it with the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. According to past rules, the movement would have to be suspended when an examination was coming. Now the teachers and students say: "In the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, we must be reformers, not conservatives. We can't let the movement stop and must reform the examination system." They made a joint study and changed boldly, integrating the examination in subjects of arts with the study of the history of the Confucianist-Legalist struggle. Students are asked to write a composition commenting on Legalist works or criticizing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and analyzing one problem of the immediate class struggle. This examination helps teachers and students alike to further plunge into the struggle for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. For the purpose of making the criticism penetrating and thorough and writing good essays, students spare no effort in checking with dictionaries and searching for reference material. Sometimes, to clarify a problem, they would go to a university or libraries outside the school. Such an examination makes the students both nervous and happy. They say: "Such an examination is fine! We've been liberated from the marks. In the past an examination meant personal hardship. An examination now aims at penetratingly and thoroughly criticizing Lin Piao and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. We reap a big harvest from this examination."

In order to make a success of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in school, it is also necessary to turn to society, integrating the movement with running the school with open doors. This is dictated by the needs of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the deep-going unfolding of the revolution in education. Running a school with open doors is an important aspect of Chairman Mao's proletarian line on education, it is a newborn thing emerging on the educational front during the great proletarian cultural revolution. Running a school with open doors must not depart from the program of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are the principal force in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius; they have high consciousness of class struggle and two-line struggle and are the most resolute in struggling against the class enemies and the bravest in breaking with traditional concepts. It is only when revolutionary teachers and students go out of the school and invite the workers, peasants and soldiers to join them in carrying out revolutionary mass criticism that they can make criticism penetrating, improve quickly and receive a profound education. On the one hand, we invite old workers, PLA heroes and revolutionary parents of students who have suffered deeply in the old society to the school and give talks. On the other hand, we hook up with neighboring factories and community centers and periodically organize teachers and students to join workers in factories and residents in the street in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. When criticizing Lin Piao's reactionary program of imatating Confucius' "restraining oneself and returning to propriety," many working women who were heavily oppressed by the reactionary political, clan, religious and masculine authorities in the old society wrathfully denounced the Confucian reactionary ethics such as the "three cardinal rules and five constant principles" and "three obediences and four virtues," thus having students educated in practical facts. Many students had formerly read in the class Lu Hsün's "Blessing"

and listened to the teacher explain the meaning. They did not comprehend this essay deeply. This time, after listening to the criticism made by the working women, they deepened their hatred for the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and when they studied "Blessing" again, they learned much more from it. When the students compiled "Notes to 'The Doctrine of the Mean,'" they at first criticized it for the sake of criticism without linking it with its background. After reading it, the workers, peasants and soldiers pointed out: "The reactionaries compiled bad books for the purpose of preparing reactionary public opinion and rendering political service to their class at the time. How can we further uncover their reactionary purpose without making clear the background of the times?" These remarks greatly educated the students. They revised the "Notes" and improved the quality of criticism. Facts show that it is not easy to make good criticism in the school only and it will be possible to carry out the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in the school more deeply only by running the school with open doors and having the teachers and students integrated with workers, peasants and soldiers.

In order to carry out penetratingly, universally and protractedly the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the teachers and students have realized profoundly: Our struggle needs Marxism. Lin Piao pushed the revisionist line and used the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as a reactionary ideological weapon for usurping Party leadership, seizing political power and restoring capitalism. To defeat and discredit these doctrines, we must grasp the revolutionary theoretical weapon. Since the initiation of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the revolutionary teachers and students of the whole school have been highly enthusiastic in reading the works by Marx and Lenin and Chairman Mao's works, with various kinds of study groups formed. Not only the teachers and staff members but almost all the students have joined these groups. Some of these are also joined by the students' parents. These study groups operate flexibly, enjoying the warm support of the students and the praise of the teachers. Parents of students are happy too. When carrying out mass activities of studying the history of struggle between Confucianism and Legalism, having made clear the relationship between such study and the study of Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings, we then organized the teachers and students to jointly draw up a fighting program, with all classes and grades fixing four things: fix what to study (which Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's works), what to appraise (which Legalists and which Legalist works), what to criticize (which reactionary words and deeds and reactionary stories of the Confucianists), and when to complete such tasks. It is required that the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius be carried out feverishly and the study of Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's works undertaken in a down-to-earth manner. By reading and applying these works in the course of struggle, the students have achieved encouraging results. Acting on Chairman Mao's teaching "Put destruction first and, in the process, you will have construction," and daring to think and to act, students of Senior Class II (B) have applied the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method in criticizing "San Tzu Ching" full of the odor of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. While criticizing the "theory of human nature" in these classics, they studied the Marxist

theory regarding classes and class struggle. While criticizing the feudal moral concepts disseminating the "three cardinal rules and five constant principles," they studied the Marxist theory regarding the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. While criticizing the idealist conception of history that history is made by emperors, kings, generals and ministers, they studied the materialist conception of history that "the slaves make history." While criticizing the reactionary conception of education that "he who excels in learning becomes an official," they studied Chairman Mao's policy "education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor." All this has raised their level of criticizing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and their Marxist theoretical level. These vivid facts make us see that the broad masses of youth and teenagers can study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought when young and can apply the Marxist basic viewpoint in criticizing Confucius. This is very important for them in growing up to be successors to the cause of proletarian revolution in the future.

More than half a year has passed since the start of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and the teachers have achieved new progress on the road to transforming their world outlook and revolutionizing their thinking. They warmly approve of the revolutionary spirit of the revolutionary young fighters in criticizing Confucius. Some say: In the past, I underestimated the students' enthusiasm for socialist revolution; now I am really convinced. After the great proletarian cultural revolution, the school is much better than it was and the students are much better than those of the past. I must get rid of my inertness and arouse my vigor and vitality." Teachers generally feel that the farther they go in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, the more clear-headed they become; the more they criticize, the more determined they are in devoting themselves to the Party's cause of education and the more vigorous in carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian line on education. The criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius also has tempered the students too. Some students who used to lag behind have changed for the better after criticizing such reactionary fallacies as "go to school in order to become an official," "reform in disguise through labor" and "reading is useless" as trumpeted by Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Confucius. A lively situation in which those lagging behind try to catch up with the advanced and the advanced to be more advanced and each competes with, learns from, catches up with and helps another has emerged among the students. In the past few months, more than 60 League members have been developed in the school, and more than 500 students have joined the Red Guards. Many students pledge to the organization: Upon graduation, they will resolutely go to the mountainous and other rural areas to embark on the bright road toward integration with the worker-peasant masses as indicated by the great leader Chairman Mao.

Since the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius began, we have done some work, but we still have a long way to go in meeting the demands of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. The tasks ahead are still numerous and very arduous. At present, an upsurge of criticizing Lin Piao's bourgeois military line is rising in our school. We must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's military writings, penetratingly criticize the

reactionary essence of Lin Piao's bourgeois military line, and link this task with the struggle for criticizing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius so as to carry out penetratingly, universally and protractedly the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. We are determined to go on battling vigorously to win still greater victories.

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The Laboring People Should Be The Masters

by

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Mencius, No. 2 sage of the reactionary ruling class, was a ferocious enemy of the laboring people. He had the reactionary viewpoint that "without men of virtue, the countrymen cannot be governed; without countrymen, men of virtue cannot be fed." He called the slave owners "men of virtue" and cursed slaves as "countrymen." This literally means that without rulers, there would be no one to manage the laboring people, and that the laboring people were born to provide food for the rulers. This was a reactionary fallacy with which he maliciously slandered the laboring people and preached the idealist conception of history. Our Yehtien has been a place inhabited by the so-called "countrymen." More than 600 years ago, it was already a village of tenant peasants under the Meng house. At the mention of this reactionary viewpoint of Mencius', we poor and lower-middle peasants are seized with hate.

This reactionary viewpoint put forward by Mencius served his political line of restoration and regression. The period in which he lived was the Warring States period, one of great social change marked by the supersession of the slave system by the feudal system and by a very acute class struggle. The slaves rebelled everywhere and the emerging landlord class also rose up to seize power. The country was plunged into chaos. At that time, the Legalists, thinkers of the emerging landlord class, adhered to a line of reform and progress, proposing such progressive ideas as abolishing the ching-t'ien system, breaking the field boundaries and adopting a policy of farming and war. Obstinately clinging to the stand of the slave-owning class and following Confucius' "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" line of restoration and regression, Mencius desperately opposed social advance. He vilified the Legalists as "tyrants and corrupt officials," "bandits of the people," and "criminals" and madly clamored for killing the Legalists. He put forward the above fallacy about superior men and countrymen in order to counter the Legalist proposals at that time, to save slave-owners from doom, to uphold and restore the slave system, and obstruct the development of social history. This fallacy was a reaction against history. Later, reactionary rulers of all ages took this fallacy as a spiritual weapon to deceive and enslave the laboring people.

In the eyes of Mencius, "countrymen" could not live without "men of virtue," that is, the laboring people could not live without rulers. The earth would not spin, the five kinds of cereals would not grow, animals would not thrive, and the laboring people would not survive without a band of rulers. The rulers were practically regarded as saviors and heroes ruling the world. In a word, oppression and exploitation were justified while rebellion was not. This was nothing but an evil principle cooked up by Mencius to "govern" us laboring people.

It was not that the laboring people could not live without the rulers, but that they found it hard to live under a "government" by the rulers. Before liberation, the poor and lower-middle peasants of Yehtien had been for generations tenant peasants for the Meng house. They had suffered enough and they knew best the kind of "rule" Mencius referred to. This "rule" meant bloody suppression politically, ruthless exploitation economically, and enslavement ideologically. The Meng house set up a kangaroo court, with all kinds of instruments of torture. When the tenant peasants or slave-servants "violated the laws," the Meng house could summon, try and punish them. The common people arrested were severely tortured, maimed or even killed. The "superior men" of the Meng house did not treat the laboring people as human beings. In their daily ledgers, they invariably listed food for servants and feeds for animals in the same column. In our village three were six "landlord agents," the lackeys of the Meng house charged with the collection of rents and repayment of debts. They squeezed and bullied us poor and lower-middle peasants at will. Of the 3,700 mow of cultivated land in Yehtien, 2,400 mow was leased from the Meng house. Rent in kind had to be paid in full on all land leased from the Meng house, be it grassland (wasteland) or be it a good or a bad year. Grain delivered as rent was carefully examined and weighed; often 100 catties of grain was treated as 50-60 catties. People said: "When the Meng house brought out the abacus, poor people shed their tears. Delivering rent was like entering into a house of ghosts." One year, my family rented 6½ mow of land from the Meng house after selling our household utensils, raising loans and putting up a sum of money enough to buy an ox as "security." We, both young and old in the family, worked hard day and night. The following year, the wheat was growing luxuriantly. Seeing this, the "superior men" of the Meng house thought out a vicious scheme. When the crop was about to be gathered, they demanded taking back the land. They returned us a sum of money enough only to buy a chicken. My grand-father, seeing the golden wheat but going nowhere to air the grievances, died a broken man. Under the ruthless exploitation of the Meng house, of the 190 peasant households in the village, 156 had to go elsewhere, 48 sold their children, and 38 perished. Look! Such were the miseries created by the rule of these "superior men" of the Meng house!

It is an undeniable fact these "men of virtue" ruling and oppressing the people could not survive without the "food" provided by the laboring people. They knew not how to work and till the land. They knew only how to waste the things produced by us laboring people. It can be said that they could not survive for a single day without us laboring people. Take the Meng house for instance. It owned more than 17,000 mow of land. Did they ever open up one inch of it? No. Was the grain they ate grown by them? No. They seized it from us poor and lower-middle peasants. The Meng house had more than 200 houses. Did its "superior men" build one of them? No. We the laboring people built them. They also forced us to pay tribute and perform labor services for them. Meng Fan-chi, grandson of the 74th generation of Mencius, had a family of ten, but it was served by over 40 servants. He often held sumptuous feasts. It can be seen that these "superior men" were all criminals oppressing the people, parasites sucking the blood of the people.

But for several thousand years history has been reversed. The laboring people who created the material wealth were underfed and underclothed, while a handful of parasites who never labored with their limbs and could not distinguish between five kinds of cereals led an extravagant life. The laboring people who made history had no position in history and were the most oppressed in society, while a handful of reactionary rulers who hindered the development of society ruled supreme. Was this reasonable? Where there is oppression, there is resistance; where there is exploitation, there is struggle. We laboring people have created the world, and we should be the masters of society. "Everything goes to the laborers; there is no room for parasites." The several hundred peasant uprisings from the late Spring and Autumn period to the feudal society effectively criticized the reactionary fallacies that "oppression and exploitation are justified" and "rebellion is unjustified," reversing the reversal of history.

Resistance and struggle by the laboring people in Tsou hsien had never ceased. In the last years of the Ming dynasty, the peasant insurgent army led by Hsü Hung-ju drove into the town of Tsou hsien and attacked the all-evil Meng house, killing Meng Ch'eng-kuang, grandson of the 60th generation, and Meng Hung-lüeh, grandson of the 61st generation. From 1644 to 1661 (during the reign of Emperor Shun Chih of the Ch'ing dynasty), nearly 30 villages in Tsou hsien organized armed struggles on different scales. Our village of tenant peasants also hoisted the banner of rebellion. After we had the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, our struggle entered a new stage. Chairman Mao said, "There may be thousands of truths about Marxism; in the final analysis, they can be summed up in one sentence: 'Rebellion is justified'." "In accordance with this truth, we resist, struggle and build socialism." In 1945, Tsou hsien was liberated for the first time. My father gloriously joined the Chinese Communist Party and was elected chairman of the village peasant salvation association. He led more than 300 tenant peasants in an attack on the Meng house and struck the "superior men" to the ground. Yet irreconciled to defeat, they, colluding with Kuomintang bandits, launched a rabid counter-offensive against the poor and lower-middle peasants. My father and two village cadres were murdered. In 1948, Tsou hsien was liberated for a second time. Since then, we laboring people have become masters, exercised dictatorship over a handful of class enemies, and followed Chairman Mao in taking the broad golden socialist path. Yehtien, poor and backward under the "rule" of the Meng house, has now become a new socialist village. Its collective economy is growing continuously and grain output rising year by year. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, the requisitioning tasks have been overfulfilled for eight consecutive years. The livelihood of the commune members is improving year after year. Now over 80 percent of the commune members are living in new tiled houses. In the past, "in front of the house of the sage are many illiterate." Now school-aged children of the whole village have gone to school. The brigade has 112 junior middle school students and 46 senior middle school students. Facts eloquently show that socialism compared with the classics of Confucius and Mencius is many times better. By toppling the reactionary rulers, the laboring people can not only live but live better.

We have become masters by going through struggle. But the struggle has not yet ended. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao and company said that "heroes and slaves jointly make history." Wasn't this a

reproduction of Mencius' fallacy, "Without men of virtue, the countrymen cannot be governed; without countrymen, men of virtue cannot be fed"? Lin Piao and Mencius were the same, though they lived in different times. Lin Piao picked up the shopworn stuff of Confucius and Mencius as an ideological weapon for counter-revolutionary restoration in a vain attempt to turn back the wheel of history and drag China back again to the dark society where "men of virtue govern countrymen." This is daydreaming. We will never let that happen. We must, in accordance with the instructions of the Party Central Committee, seriously read books by Marx and Lenin and by Chairman Mao, study and sum up the historical experience of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools, unfold the political and ideological struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a penetrating, widespread and sustained manner, criticize penetratingly and thoroughly Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and insure that the socialist mountains and rivers will never change color for all generations to come.

* * *

Our Principle Is That the Party Commands the Gun

- Critique of Lin Piao's crime in opposing Party leadership over the army

by

T'ien Chün (田军)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 9, Sept. 1, 1974)

The renegade and traitor Lin Piao, out of his counter-revolutionary needs, not only followed Confucius' precept of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and pursued a revisionist political line, but pushed a bourgeois military line. He went to great lengths to preach the fallacy that the gun commands the Party in an effort to oppose the Marxist principle that the Party commands the gun, which has always been upheld by Chairman Mao, and to undermine the Party's absolute leadership over the army. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's military writings, to use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as a weapon to criticize Lin Piao's fallacy of the gun commanding the Party, and to settle his crimes of opposing Party leadership and pursuing a bourgeois military line are of great significance in strengthening the building of our army in light of Chairman Mao's army-building line, in continuing to strengthen the solid unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in preventing capitalist restoration.

Chairman Mao has pointed out that "of the seven sectors, industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army, the government and the Party, it is the Party that exercises overall leadership." The relationship between our Party and army can only be one between the leader and the led. This relationship cannot be reversed; the two cannot stand in equal height. This is determined by the very nature and tasks of our Party and army. The Chinese Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat, the highest form of proletarian organization. The basic program of the Party during the period of socialist revolution is to completely overthrow the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat, and defeat capitalism with socialism. The ultimate goal of the Party is the realization of communism. To fulfill this task, the Party must build a people's army imbued with the proletarian revolutionary style. In fact, the Chinese People's Liberation Army, founded, led and commanded personally by Chairman Mao, was built and has developed in accordance with the Party's program and tasks and in struggle. It is an armed group carrying out the Party's political tasks. It is not only a fighting force but also a work force. It is an instrument for our Party to lead the proletariat and the revolutionary people to carry out the proletarian revolution. The first requirement of the Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention set by Chairman Mao for our army is to obey orders in all your actions. Absolute submission to Chairman Mao's and the Party Central Committee's leadership, correct implementation of the Party's program and line, obeying the Party's orders in all actions, and whole-hearted devotion to the cause

of the proletariat and working people by charging forward and fighting endlessly--these are the sole criteria and glorious traditions of our army. Vast numbers of Chinese PLA commanders and fighters have stuck to and promoted these glorious traditions and won one shining victory after another. By trumpeting the fallacy that the gun commands the Party, Lin Piao vainly attempted to sabotage the Party's absolute leadership over the army and our army's fine traditions and to change our army's nature. This laid bare his betrayal of the Party, the army and the people.

Whether to place the army under the Party's absolute leadership and follow the principle that the Party commands the gun, or to oppose the Party's leadership and have the gun command the Party--this has always been an important issue in the struggle between the two lines within the Party. This struggle has continued without interruption for nearly half a century since the army's founding. The Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance, for instance, had trumpeted the fallacy that the gun commands the Party as a means of usurping Party and state power and opposing the socialist revolution. As the Resolution of our Party concerning this anti-Party alliance pointed out, Kao Kang "advocated an extremely absurd 'theory,' saying that our Party was divided into two: One was the so-called 'Party of the base areas and army;' the other, the so-called 'Party of the White areas.' Saying that the Party was founded by the army, he considered himself the representative of the so-called 'Party of the base areas and army,' and he thought that he should have the principal power." ("Resolution of the National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Kao Kang-Jao Shu-shih Anti-Party Alliance") After Kao Kang out came P'eng te-huai to oppose the Party, and he, too, vainly attempted to have the gun command the Party. In calling for the gun to command the Party, in creating all sorts of lies to the effect that it was the army which decided the character and fate of the Party and state power, and even in clamoring that the founder could not command and that he should be allowed to "command and mobilize everything," Lin Piao's criminal intent and dirty tricks were no different from those of Kao Kang and P'eng Te-huai. It has now been made clear that Lin Piao was the behind-the-scene mastermind of the Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance. Our struggle against Lin Piao on the question of whether the Party commands the gun or it is the other way round is a continuation of the struggle between the two lines down through the history of our Party. It is a reflection of class struggle in which the landlord and capitalist classes oppose the socialist revolution of the proletariat and attempt to transform the Party, the army and the world in the image of the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao has always paid great attention to the Party's leadership over the army. He has firmly criticized the opportunist line and mistaken tendencies opposing Party leadership over the army. As early as the period of the democratic revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out: for the Red Army, "the question of leadership by proletarian ideology is of vital importance." ("The Struggle in the Chingkang Mountains") Moreover, he stipulated that "the Chinese Red Army is an armed group carrying out revolutionary political tasks." ("On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party") To insure the army correctly carrying out the political tasks laid down by the Party, Chairman Mao established Party organizations at all levels in the Red Army and set forth the important principle that "the Party

branch is established on the basis of the company." ("The Struggle in the Chingkang Mountains") In view of the erroneous trends leading to the separation of the army from Party leadership in the Red Army, such as "command headquarters handle outside matters" and "military affairs lead politics," Chairman Mao pointed out sternly, "If allowed to develop, this idea would involve the danger of estrangement from the masses, control of the government by the army and departure from proletarian leadership--it would be to take the path of warlordism like the Kuomintang army." ("On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party") At the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth CCP Central Committee, Chairman Mao led the whole Party to criticize the opportunist political and military lines represented by Wang Ming and Chang Kuo-t'ao. Chairman Mao made it clear: "Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party." He admonished: "Communists do not fight for personal military power (they must in no circumstances do that and let no one ever again follow the example of Chang Kuo-t'ao), but they must fight for military power for the Party, for military power for the people." ("Problems of War and Strategy") During the period of the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao summed up the historical experiences of proletarian dictatorship at home and abroad and, on the basis of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration, set forth systematic theories and policies, reaffirming the principle that the Party commands the gun. This concept of Chairman Mao's has been expounded in our Party documents more than once. It was cited in "On Khruschev's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for World History" (9th comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of Soviet Communist Party) published in 1964, wherein it was stated: "The people's armed forces of socialist countries must always be placed under the leadership of the proletarian parties and the supervision of the people. They must forever preserve the honorable traditions of the people's army and maintain unity between the army and the people and between officers and men." "The guns must forever be in the hands of the Party and the people; under no circumstances should it be used as a tool by individual careerists." These brilliant ideas of Chairman Mao's are a major development of Marxism as well as a powerful ideological weapon for us in criticizing Lin Piao's bourgeois military line.

For the Party to command the gun is a basic principle of Marxism and an important component of the Marxist political and military lines formulated by Chairman Mao for our Party and army. Adherence to this principle is dictated by the basic interests of the proletariat and the working people. Marxism holds that the army is a product of a class society, and that not until the appearance of classes were there state power, political factions and parties, and the major component part of state power--the army. Every army is subordinate to a definite class and serves its interests. All ruling classes in history, in order to preserve their own interests, invariably had to establish their own armies in accordance with their own programs and lines and to control them firmly. Chairman Mao has said: "Without a people's army, the people would have nothing." ("On Coalition Government") The people's army led by our Party is an instrument for the proletariat and working people to seize and consolidate state power; it serves the basic interests of the proletariat and the working people. The reactionary landlord and bourgeois classes bitterly hate and mortally fear this army. When they hold state power and are in a ruling position, they always use the reactionary armed forces under their control to launch frantic

counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" campaigns in a vain attempt to suppress and wipe out this army. Alternately, they resort to the tactics of intimidation and material inducements in a vain attempt to take control of the revolutionary armed forces through opportunists within the revolutionary ranks. After they have lost state power, apart from scheming to gather the counter-revolutionary remnant forces to stir up counter-revolutionary disturbances, they more frequently try to use their agents who have sneaked into our Party to sabotage and corrupt our Party and army, vainly attempting to restore their lost "paradise." Lin Piao's fallacy that the gun commands the Party precisely stands for the interests and wishes of imperialism, revisionism and reaction abroad and of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists at home.

Chairman Mao has said that the principles of military operations "are directly linked to the basic political principles." ("Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan") Lin Piao's opposition to the principle that the Party commands the gun and his pushing a bourgeois military line were closely linked to his revisionist political line of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety." Historical experience has repeatedly proved that political lines are accompanied by military lines that correspond with and serve them. During the period of great social change marked by the supersession of the slave system by the feudal system in Chinese history, Confucius, Mencius and their like energetically peddled in military matters the reactionary idea of "disciplining the army according to propriety" ("when the army observes propriety, it will perform military feats") with the object of pushing the political line of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and "reviving states that have been extinct, restoring families whose line of succession has been broken, and calling to office those who have fallen to obscurity." They regarded the army as a reactionary tool of the slave-owning class to "achieve self-preservation by eliminating evils and forestalling chaos," as a tool to suppress the armed uprisings of the slaves and the resistance of the newly emerging landlord class in order to save the slave system from extinction. On the other hand, they vigorously conducted deceptive propaganda to the effect that "we should forego military equipment and even part with food" for the purpose of opposing the "policy of farming and war" enforced by the Legalists who represented the newly emerging landlord class--in a vain attempt to prevent the newly emerging landlord class from using revolutionary armed forces to overthrow the rule of the slave-owning class. In following Confucius in "restraining oneself and returning to propriety," Lin Piao considered the restoration of capitalism as the most important of all things and vainly attempted to "revive" the "extinguished state" of semi-feudal and semi-colonial society, to "restore" the landlord and bourgeois classes "whose line of succession has been broken," and to "call to office" people forced to "fall into obscurity" by the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was a revisionist line of restoration and regression. Lin Piao learned from counter-revolutionary experiences that the Chinese People's Liberation Army, armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and regarding serving the people wholeheartedly as its sole aim, was a major obstacle to his pushing this revisionist line. By advocating that the gun commands the Party and opposing the principle that the Party commands the gun, Lin Piao vainly attempted to alter the Marxist political and military lines formulated by Chairman Mao for our Party and army, undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat, and restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. However,

just as the reactionary activities of all reactionaries produce the very opposite of what they subjectively desire, Lin Piao, too, lifted a rock only to drop it on his own feet. Not only did he fail to change the line and character of our Party and army, but, on the contrary, he became a teacher by negative example for the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao points out: "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." He states also: "Correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but only in the course of struggle. It is necessary to struggle against the "Left" opportunist line on the one hand and the Right opportunist line on the other. Without struggling against and thoroughly overcoming these harmful tendencies which endanger the revolution and revolutionary war, it will be impossible to build a correct line and win victory in the revolutionary war." ("Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War") This is a scientific synthesis of experiences in revolutionary struggle at home and abroad and also a sharp and effective criticism of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary fallacies. Historical experiences show us that only the leadership of the Party and of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is our army's lifeblood and the decisive factor of our army's victories. During the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War, the vigorous great revolution ended in failure due to Ch'en Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist line. During the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, Wang Ming's rejection of the leadership of Chairman Mao's correct line over the Red Army led to the failure of the fifth anti-"encirclement and suppression" campaign, resulting in the loss of about 90 percent of the revolutionary armed forces built up by the Party over a long time. During the Long March, Chang Kuo-t'ao opposed Chairman Mao's correct line and vainly attempted to have the gun command the Party, split the Red Army and practice flightism. In the end, this caused tremendous damage to a part of the Red Army. But each time we liquidated the opportunist line and kept to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the unity of the whole Party and the whole army was greatly strengthened, the army developed and the revolution advanced. Two different lines produced two different results. This fact, besides effectively refuting Lin Piao's lies, proves that the development and growth of the army, its success or failure, and its existence or extinction all depend on the correctness or incorrectness of the Party line. If the line is correct, we will have soldiers where we have none and have guns which we do not have. If the line is wrong, we may still lose our guns when we get them. During the past 40 years and more, our army has grown from small to big, from weak to strong. It has fought south and north. It won victories in the War of Resistance Against Japan, in the War of Liberation and in the War for Resisting US Aggression and Aiding Korea. In the period of socialist revolution, it has bravely defended the vital frontiers of the motherland and its airspace and territorial waters. It has persisted in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and performed new merit for the people. The reason for all this is that it has adhered to the principle that the Party commands the gun, that, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, it has boycotted and criticized the opportunist and revisionist lines peddled by Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming, Chang Kuo-t'ao, Kao Kang,

P'eng Te-hui, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and has thoroughly implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

In protracted revolutionary struggles our army has indeed played an important role in developing the Party organization and building revolutionary state power. However, this role has been developed only under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the correct leadership of the Party. It has nothing in common with Lin Piao's fallacy that the gun commands the Party. In the period of the democratic revolution, apart from destroying the enemy's military forces in battles, our army always assumed the important tasks of educating, organizing, arming, and helping the masses to build revolutionary state power, going so far as to set up and develop the Party organizations. These were political tasks entrusted to our army by the Party in accordance with the objective needs of class struggle, tasks that were dictated by the political and military lines of the Party. The fulfillment of these tasks could not be separated for a single moment from the guidance of correct political and military lines. It was precisely thanks to the heroic, tenacious and splendid work done by the broad masses of Party members and cadres of our Party and our army in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line that the Party organization and revolutionary state power grew continuously and great victories were won in the new democratic revolution.

Socialist society covers a fairly long historical stage, where there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism, and the danger of capitalist restoration. Reactionaries at home and abroad, irreconciled to their defeat, invariably attempt to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism through armed subversion or the tactic of "peaceful evolution." Under these circumstances, the people's army must remain a permanent fighting and working force. It must fight against enemies both with and without guns. Our army must assume these heavy tasks, develop its role as a pillar for the dictatorship of the proletariat and contribute to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, guarding against capitalist restoration and building socialism. To do all this, the prerequisite is for it to have a correct ideological and political line. Only by resolutely implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line can it see things clearly, boost its fighting morale, and, instead of being overwhelmed by, overwhelm all enemies with guns. It must not be hit by sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie. It must be a vanguard in criticizing the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes. Since the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the commanders and fighters of our army have scored tremendous achievements in the "three supports and two militaries." Together with the masses, they have successfully destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and safeguarded and developed the great achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is due to persistently following Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. When discussing the role of the army, Lin Piao made no mention at all of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. From this it is not difficult to see that Lin Piao had no intention of allowing the army to play its role in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the contrary, he was striving to abolish and undermine that role. However, this was merely wishful thinking on Lin Piao's part. Through criticism of his bourgeois

military line, our army will definitely be able to play its role even better in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." Lin Piao's opposition to Party leadership fully exposed his reactionary features in practicing revisionism, advocating a split and intriguing and conspiring. It revealed his true colors as a bourgeois careerist. Lin Piao created many fallacies in promoting his theory that the gun commands the Party. In a nutshell, however, it was he who should command the army and the Party. Did he not say that the founder could not command and that he should be allowed to "command and mobilize everything"? This was a futile attempt to seize the power of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. Together with his diehard followers, he cooked up a plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, and vainly attempted to murder the great leader Chairman Mao, subvert the proletarian dictatorship, suppress the revolutionary people and restore capitalism. In his program for a counter-revolutionary coup reference was made to seeking the aid of social-imperialism's "nuclear umbrella" in the vain hope of leading China back to the old road of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary ambition had been long-standing. He came from a landlord-bourgeois family and he resisted reform. With the personal ambition of running the Party to suit his selfish purpose, he had engaged in machinations within our Party for several decades. As early as the period of the democratic revolution, he had opposed Party leadership, tried to build an independent kingdom, and run counter to Chairman Mao's correct line. At no time did he obey Chairman Mao's orders. During the War of Liberation, he first countered Chairman Mao's concept of operations for the Liaohsi-Shenyang campaign and refused to attack Chinchow. Later, he again countered Chairman Mao's instructions on rapidly sending the Northeast Field Army through Shanhaikuan. Although Lin Piao labeled himself a communist, his brain was filled with the decadent warlord thinking that "those who have guns are uncrowned kings." His bourgeois world outlook and counter-revolutionary desire to restore capitalism made his ambition grow with his rise through the ranks. He frantically peddled the revisionist political and military lines, vigorously called for the gun to command the Party, and plotted to seize the supreme power of the Party, the government and the army and to establish a fascist Lin family dynasty. Thus, his reactionary world outlook was glaringly laid bare.

"Green mountains cannot be hidden, and a river flows eastward." Our army has always been loyal to the Party, to the people and to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, which takes the leading role in our army. Within the great Chinese Communist Party and the great Chinese People's Liberation Army, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, a handful of careerists who plotted to undermine the Party's absolute leadership over the army, had no hope of support and were completely isolated. Opportunist chieftains within the Party in various periods had tried by all possible means to undermine the Party's absolute leadership over the army in an attempt to destroy our people's army. They did not succeed. Lin Piao wanted to "command and mobilize everything," but in the end, he could command and mobilize nothing. He had to flee and met the ignominious end of self-destruction. Through the struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, our army will further display its glorious traditions and more valiantly march forward along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee!

The Confucianist "Disciplining the Army According to Propriety" and Lin Piao's Bourgeois Military Line

by

the Theoretical Group of No. 1332 Depot
of the PLA Navy

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 9, Sept. 1, 1974)

The military line is decided by, and serves, the political line. Historically, the struggle between the Confucianist and Legalist military lines was invariably tied to the struggle between political lines at that time. Intent on carrying out their reactionary political program of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and using counter-revolutionary violence to turn back the wheel of history, the Confucianists gave serious attention to the role of counter-revolutionary armed forces. Their insistence on utilizing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in disciplining the army was designed to make it loyal to the corrupt and declining reactionary ruling classes and enable it to fulfill more effectively the function of slaughtering and suppressing the laboring people. In a nutshell, pushing the reactionary military line meant "disciplining the army according to propriety." The bourgeois military line pushed by Lin Piao, a faithful disciple of Confucius and Mencius, was essentially the same as the Confucianist line of "disciplining the army according to propriety."

When Confucius, the founder-master of the Confucian school, saw that "rites decayed and music was ruined" and the slave system was crumbling in the Chou dynasty, he was seized with anxiety. In an attempt to save this situation and restore the rule of the slave-owning class, he set the reactionary political program of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety." To this end, he also made out a prescription of "disciplining the army according to the propriety" for the declining slave-owning class. He said: "When the army observes propriety, it will perform military feats." He called for disciplining the army with "Chou's rites" in order to make it an effective tool with which to maintain and restore the slave system. He explained this repeatedly, saying: "Those who are benevolent will be brave" but "those who are brave but are without propriety will only bring disorder." In other words, only those who were able to "restrain themselves and return to propriety" could fight for the interests of the declining slave-owning class. Those who were brave but were not guided by "Chou's rites" would "offend the superiors and cause confusion in the empire." These reactionary sermons can be summarized as follows: Instill "Chou's rites" into the army and make it entirely devoted to the interests of the declining slave-owning class.

Even under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship, Lin Piao, agent of the landlord-bourgeois classes, vainly attempted to turn back the wheel of history and restore the lost "paradise" of the landlord-bourgeois classes. Besides politically imitating Confucius in hoisting the tattered counter-revolutionary banner of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety," militarily he faithfully inherited the reactionary mantle of Confucius in "disciplining the army according to propriety." This meant

pushing a bourgeois military line and using the ideology of the landlord-bourgeois classes to corrupt the armed forces in a futile bid to change Chairman Mao's proletarian line on army building.

Having summed up the historical experience of proletarian dictatorship, our greater leader Chairman Mao has formulated for our Party a basic Marxist-Leninist line for the entire historical stage of socialism. He has time and again taught us that the Party's basic line "must be talked about every year, every month and every day." "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." "The line is the key link; once it is grasped, everything falls into place." To grasp the work of the army means to grasp the study of the Party's correct line. Lin Piao audaciously opposed Chairman Mao's directives, stubbornly proposed to take what he called "four-good as the key link" as a substitute for the Party's basic line, and made the army work for the realization of his reactionary political program of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety." He said absurdly: "It won't do for the army without grasping the basic level; and it won't do to grasp the basic level without grasping the four good." What kind of medicine was contained in his so-called "one good leads three good" bottle labelled "four good"? Lin Piao said that it was necessary first of all to have "good political thinking." But he dropped the Party's basic line, opposed the study of Marxism-Leninism in the army, sabotaged the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings, and denied the Party's absolute leadership over the army. Instead, he forcibly injected into the army "a whole set of ideas," such as solving ideological problems in a "sweeping manner" and the bourgeois military line consisting of "six tactical principles." His diehard partners, mincing no words, cried aloud: "The highest criterion of good political thinking" was taking Lin Piao as the "example." This clearly showed the reactionary essence of Lin Piao's so-called "good political thinking." With "one leading the three other good," we could only go to the revisionist sidetrack. Lin Piao thought that by virtue of what he had done, he could change things and make "the army observe propriety" and perform "military feats" for the landlord-bourgeois classes in restoring the old order. But it is easy to shake a mountain but difficult to shake the Liberation Army. Under the illumination of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the vast numbers of commanders and fighters of our army have always marched forward victoriously along Chairman Mao's proletarian line on army building. Lin Piao's whole set of ideas did not work among the broad masses of commanders and fighters.

Chairman Mao has admonished the Party long ago: "Communists do not fight for personal military power (they must in no circumstances do that and let no one ever again follow the example of Chang Kuo-t'ao), but they must fight for military power for the Party, for military power for the people." Since Lin Piao regarded subversion of the proletarian dictatorship and restoration of capitalism as the "most important" of "all things" and imitated Confucius in "disciplining the army according to propriety," he necessarily had to seize the Party's military power, the military power of the people. As early as the period of the War of Liberation, while in the Northeast he had again and again defied the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, recruited deserters and traitors, expanded his strength, used the troops under his disposal for his private purpose, and claimed independence from the Party. In the period of

socialist revolution, he even more ruthlessly fought for personal military power. He instructed his sworn partners to devote their main energy to seizing military power by conspiracy, no matter what posts they held and how busy they were. Did Confucius not say that "propriety, music, and military expeditions come from the Son of Heaven" and want political and military power to be concentrated in the hands of the chieftains of the slave-owners? It was by emulating Confucius that Lin Piao energetically practiced "rectification of names" in the military field, cooked up the reactionary fallacy that the founder of the army could not command it, and said that the PLA should be "directly commanded" by him, so that, as he vainly hoped, he and his sworn partners could "command everything" and "mobilize everything." Lin Piao also stepped up his efforts to organize counter-revolutionary "fleets," big and small, as the basic forces for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat. These criminal activities amply showed him up as a bourgeois warlord with wild ambitions!

The reason why the reactionary classes and Confucianists in history attached great importance to military affairs and held the military power in their hands was that they wanted to use counter-revolutionary violence to savagely suppress the resistance of revolutionary classes and the laboring people, to defend and restore the old system. On this point, Pan Ku, the Confucian scholar of the Han Dynasty, had said clearly: "Troops are used for preserving the state from extinction, eliminating evils and curbing confusion." Look! They put the swords on the necks of the revolutionary classes and laboring people in order to attain their goal of "reviving states that have become extinct, restoring families whose line of succession has been broken, and calling to office those who have fallen into obscurity." It was nothing but a fraud when the Confucianists talked about "benevolence" and "foregoing military equipment and parting with food." In fact, it is hard to separate the word "benevolence" from the word "kill" in the speeches and deeds of the Confucianists, who were extremely brutal in slaughtering the people and murdering progressive thinkers. In "Diary of a Mad Man," Lu Hsün said: Although the pages were full of the history of "benevolence, righteousness and virtue," in fact, "the whole book is filled with the words 'eat people!'" If we look at history, we will see that whenever Confucius and his disciples were singing the high-sounding tune of "benevolence," they were waving their swords and brutally suppressing the revolutionary classes and the laboring people. Revered by the reactionary classes as a "benevolent man" and "the greatest sage and foremost teacher," Confucius was the chief culprit of the Confucianists in massacring the people. When Tzu Ta-shu of the state of Cheng "killed all" the slaves who rose up to rebel, Confucius jumped with joy and exclaimed: "Excellent! If the common people are treated too liberally, they will make trouble; when they make trouble, they must be harshly suppressed." Mencius, the "lesser sage" of the Confucian school, was similarly a butcher. In ordinary times he pretended to be a kind-hearted man who could not even bear to see cattle and sheep being slaughtered; however, once he saw or heard about opposition to "restraining oneself and returning to propriety," he immediately revealed his ferocious features and urged on "punitive action." He vigorously proposed that those princes who failed to come even once to court to see the Son of Heaven of Chou be demoted in official rank, those who failed to come twice were to suffer a reduction in their feudatory land, and those who failed to come thrice were to be wiped out by war.

Besides, he clamored: "The warlike deserve more than death," urging that those among the slaves or within the emerging landlord class who were good at fighting against the slave-owning class be put to death. What a brute he was. Chiang Kai-shek, the public enemy of the people, has even gone further than this. He labelled the Communists and revolutionary people as "bandits" and described the counter-revolutionary civil wars and bloody massacre of the revolutionary people as "benevolent acts," alleging that "to suppress the bandits is to practice benevolence." Under the tattered banner of "benevolence," he openly betrayed the revolution on April 12, 1927, and started shooting at the unarmed workers and revolutionary masses first in Shanghai and then in other parts of the country. More than one million revolutionaries were slaughtered in three to four years.

Lin Piao's sinister motive in "disciplining the army according to propriety" and in contending with the Party for military power was to vainly attempt to turn the proletarian army into an instrument with which to suppress the proletariat and the laboring people. Did Lin Piao not distort the content of the proletarian dictatorship to say that "state power means power to suppress?" Today, we can clearly understand these sinister words by contrasting them with his plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat entitled "Outline of 'Project 571'." He was intent on liberating the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad people and Rightists and all ghosts and monsters. He was intent on "suppressing" the Communists and the revolutionary people. However, this was mere wishful thinking on his part! "When the army and the people are united as one, who in the world can match them?" The Chinese People's Liberation Army is a people's army personally founded and directly commanded by the great leader Chairman Mao, and is linked with the masses of people by flesh and blood. The broad masses of commanders and fighters are loyal to Chairman Mao, to the Party and the people. Lin Piao vainly hoped to "command everything" and "mobilize everything," but in the end he could command or mobilize nothing, and was crushed into pieces by the iron fists of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country!

The Confucianists and representatives of the reactionary ruling classes, in order to practice "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and suppress the revolutionary people, often had to collude with reactionaries abroad. The military line of "disciplining the army according to propriety" was, in essence, a military line of national betrayal and capitulation. Tseng Kuo-fan, the big butcher of the T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo movement, was a traitor who slaughtered the Chinese people with foreign guns and cannon. At a time when the Western powers were launching massive aggression against China, he not only refused to resist them, but with the butcher knives of the foreign aggressors, carried out a bloody "punitive action" against the T'ai-p'ing army. He said publicly: "When the foreigners are coming in droves, our troops also march along with them." His disciple Li Hung-chang even went so far as to say: Foreign troops "often broke the resistance of the bandits but could not kill more of them. Therefore, our army must help them in doing what they alone cannot do." How shameless and mad he was! They killed people by the tens of thousands by relying on the arrogant foreign aggressive troops. When T'ienching [capital of the T'ai-p'ing

Heavenly Kingdom] fell, according to their own admission, more than a hundred thousand people were killed in three days, "filling the Ch'inhuai River with corpses."

In pushing the bourgeois military line and "disciplining the army according to propriety," Lin Piao had no choice but to collude with foreign enemies. He hung up in his room a scroll bearing Mencius' precept "A small nation learns from a big nation," using it as a daily reminder. In the "Outline of 'Project 571'," reference was made to his attempt to slaughter the Chinese people with the help of the airplanes and cannon supplied by the Soviet revisionists and to turn China into a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. When his conspiracy for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat fell through, he took a plane bound for the Soviet revisionists but crashed to death at Undur Khan of Mongolia. Facts prove that Lin Piao was also a big traitor who took the road of restoring the old order by betraying the country and surrendering to the foreign enemy. Had Lin Piao realized his dream of becoming a junior emperor with the help of the Soviet revisionists, the heads of millions and millions of revolutionaries would have rolled, and the Chinese people would have fallen into the abyss of miseries once more. However, "can ants eat up a big tree?" After all, Lin Piao and his diehard partners were a handful of reactionaries who found themselves extremely isolated among the people. Opposed by the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the country, their conspiracies were bound to fail, and the result was a more crushing defeat than that suffered by past reactionaries.

Our struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique has been a sharp struggle against capitalist restoration. In the military field this struggle touched on such questions as which class should control the gun, what kind of political line should be used to command the gun, and what kind of political purpose the gun should serve. This shocking class struggle has made us more aware that: "We need not only a correct Marxist political line but also a correct Marxist military line." "Without a people's army, the people would have nothing." Now, although Lin Piao has died of self-destruction, yet the pernicious influence of the revisionist line he pushed has not been thoroughly eliminated and the two-line struggle has not come to an end. This requires that we develop the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a deep-going, widespread and sustained manner, further study the Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings, and study and implement Chairman Mao's proletarian military thinking and military line. We must penetratingly criticize Lin Piao's bourgeois military line, strengthen the Party's absolute leadership over the army and give full play to the army's role as the pillar of the proletarian dictatorship. This is where the basic interests of the proletariat and the masses of the laboring people lie; it is also the basic task for each and every revolutionary fighter of ours.

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Expose Lin Piao's Features as Right Opportunist

by

the Party Branch of Sixth Company of a Certain Radar Unit of the PLA Air Force

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 9, Sept. 1, 1974)

Following the deep-going, widespread and sustained development of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, our company, on the basis of criticizing Lin Piao's revisionist political line, has seriously studied Chairman Mao's military writings and, in connection with the study of the history of the struggle between Confucian and Legalist military thinking, penetratingly criticized Lin Piao's bourgeois military line. In the course of criticism, through dissecting Lin Piao's criminal history and his crimes of opposing Chairman Mao's concept of operations for the Liaohsi-Shenyang Campaign, we have exposed the ideological roots of Lin Piao's Right capitulationism, torn off his mask as an "invincible general," and further recognized his ugly features as a Right opportunist.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "What is false is false, and the guise must be stripped off." In order to unmask Lin Piao as a so-called "invincible general," we first organized everyone to study Chairman Mao's relevant writings and statements at various crucial moments and on major questions in the history of our army. Then we looked up the relevant materials and found Lin Piao's Right-deviating speeches and actions at these historical junctures. Using the comparative method, we made clear how Chairman Mao came to issue his directives and made his plans for dispositions, and how Lin Piao came to speak and act. In this way, we brought to light Lin Piao's consistent opposition to Chairman Mao and Chairman Mao's proletarian military line as well as Lin Piao's consistent deviation toward the Right. For instance, during the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, Chairman Mao pointed out that the revolutionary high tide was around the corner, "in China filled with faggots, violent flames are about to burst forth." However, taking the landlord-bourgeois stand, Lin Piao was skeptical about the revolution, failing to see the possibility of the rapid advent of the revolutionary high tide. Pessimistically he asked, "How long will the red flag be flying?" In view of this, after the Kut'ien Meeting, Chairman Mao wrote a long letter "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire," in which he sternly criticized him. This was a historical fact. However, Lin Piao audaciously tampered with history. He had not been to Sanwan, yet he advertised himself as one who achieved merit in "carrying out regrouping in Sanwan." He was obviously pessimistic about the revolution, yet he wrote the reactionary verse "Determined as I am in my belief in Marxism-Leninism, how can I doubt a single spark can start a prairie fire?" in an attempt to reverse the historical verdict. After the Tsun-i Conference, at a crucial moment when Chairman Mao was leading the Red Army to turn from defeat to victory, Lin Piao, in league with P'eng Te-huai, wanted to seize Chairman Mao's power. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, Lin Piao produced anti-Party articles praising Chiang Kai-shek, the public enemy of the people, and the Kuomintang and opposing Chairman Mao's strategic policy of waging a guerrilla war independently and with initiative kept in our hands. During the War of

Liberation, he supported "a new stage of peace and democracy" proposed by Liu Shao-ch'i, entertaining the illusion that Chiang Kai-shek was "sincere about peace" and declaring willingness to "cooperate" with Chiang Kai-shek in the Northeast. In the Liaohsi-Shenyang and Peiping-Tientsin Campaigns, he again and again opposed Chairman Mao's great strategic dispositions and strategic policies. During the period of socialist revolution Lin Piao many times resisted Chairman Mao's strategic plan and wise decisions. In the early 1960's, at a time when China was struck by grave natural disasters and the Khrushchev renegade clique was stirring up an anti-China adverse current, he opposed the Party's general line and attacked our Party's principled struggle against the Soviet revisionists as "going too far," attempting to compromise with and surrender to the Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. To deepen our understanding in this regard, we invited two Red Army veterans to make reports, which told of how, during the Long March, Lin Piao opposed Chairman Mao in league with P'eng Te-huai. After the Red Army had arrived at northern Shensi, he adamantly insisted again and again on leaving the main force of the Red Army and going alone to southern Shensi to "wage guerrilla warfare." Historical facts cannot be turned upside down. When we link the Right-deviating mistakes made by Lin Piao in the past with his conspiracies to usurp Party leadership and seize state power and his shameless acts of betraying the nation and capitulating to revisionism, we will see clearly that Lin Piao was no representative of a correct line but an out-and-out Right opportunist. His history was no history of an "invincible general," but a criminal history of a Right-deviating capitulationist-traitor.

With a view to further exposing Lin Piao's hideous features as a Right opportunist, we also organized the comrades of the entire company to make an analysis of a typical campaign in the fighting history of our army--the Liaohsi-Shenyang Campaign, criticizing the ultra-Right essence of his bourgeois military line from the angle of the struggle between two military lines.

Chairman Mao points out: "Correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but only in the course of struggle." The victory of the Liaohsi-Shenyang Campaign was a victory for Chairman Mao's great strategic concept, a victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian military line in defeating Lin Piao's bourgeois military line. From the preparation of this campaign to its conclusion, there existed throughout an acute struggle between two military ideas and two military lines. When analyzing this campaign, we first organized our comrades to read Chairman Mao's "The Concept of Operations for the Liaohsi-Shenyang Campaign" and a series of important directives laid down by him. Then, studying the topography of the campaign and applying the method of giving lectures and guidance in study simultaneously, we made clear the entire process of the Liaohsi-Shenyang Campaign. Finally, we directed everyone to make an analytical comparison from four aspects in connection with the struggle between the two military lines during the Liaohsi-Shenyang Campaign.

First, we made an analytical comparison of the different appraisals of the political and military situations before the campaign and the choice of the moment for a decisive battle. The great leader Chairman Mao, applying the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method, conducted an overall and incisive analysis of our situation and that of the enemy.

He saw that the moment for a strategically decisive battle to decide the two different destinies and two different futures for China had arrived. Wisely and resolutely he decided to wage a strategically decisive battle with the enemy. But Lin Piao, proceeding from subjective idealism, overestimated the strength of the enemy and underestimated the strength of the masses of the people. Entertaining all sorts of misgivings, he resisted the directives of Chairman Mao and the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee. For a long time he kept the main force of our army in the Northeast hovering between Changchun and Shenyang and refused to go south. This entirely revealed his face as a Right opportunist who passively sought to avoid battle.

Second, we made an analytical comparison of the different choices of the direction of the strategically main offensive. In view of the favorable conditions in which our army found itself in the Northeast theater at that time, Chairman Mao clearly pointed out that the direction of the main attack should be the Peiping-Liaoning Railway. "Wipe out the enemy along the line from Chinchow to Tangshan and take Chinchow, Shanhaikuan and Tangshan." "Prepare to employ your main force on this line, leaving the enemy forces at Changchun and Shenyang alone. When you are attacking Chinchow, be prepared also to wipe out the enemy forces that may come to its rescue from Changchun and Shenyang." The policy, proposed by Chairman Mao, of sending our army south to the Peiping-Liaoning line, sealing off the Chiang troops in the Northeast and then wiping them one by one, was the only correct policy for operations in the Northeast theater. But Lin Piao, departing from the overall interests and ignoring Chairman Mao's strategic dispositions, alleged that "there is no battle that can be fought in the direction of Chinchow." He made the absurd proposition of attacking Changchun first and retaining our main force in the Northeast for fighting on the north line. This fully showed that he was a chicken-hearted man without a strategic brain and afraid of carrying out an unprecedentedly big battle of annihilation.

Third, we made an analytical comparison of where the central attention of operations should be directed. With the general situation in view, Chairman Mao clearly pointed out the need to focus the attention on operations in Chinchow, to concentrate troops to take Chinchow first. This was because Chinchow was an important strategic area linking the Northeast and North China theaters, and was a fatal weak spot of the enemy. When Chinchow was taken, it would be possible to beat the dog behind closed doors and put the enemy to death. However, after the curtain was raised for the Liaohsi-Shenyang Campaign, Lin Piao wanted to stay away from Chinchow. At one moment he wanted to attack Shanhaikuan and at another he wanted to take his troops back to attack Changchun. This fully showed that Lin Piao was carrying out a Right opportunist concept of operations, failing to see the major significance of taking Chinchow first to the general situation. Instead, he went alone and did his utmost to resist Chairman Mao's concept of operations.

Fourth, we made an analytical comparison on the question of whether it was necessary to annihilate the enemy completely. After our army had taken Chinchow and cut off the Peiping-Liaoning line, Yingkou became the only escape route for the enemies fleeing by the sea. Chairman Mao had many times despatched urgent telegrams to Lin Piao ordering him to send his

troops to block the escape of the remnant enemy forces. But, openly defying Chairman Mao's instruction, Lin Piao refused to send troops to take control of Yingkou, with the result that one army, one division and three regiments of the enemy escaped to the sea through Yingkou. This fully disclosed his bourgeois military thinking of opposing battles of annihilation and favoring battles of routing the enemy. It forcefully showed that instead of "performing merit in action" during the Liaohsi-Shenyang Campaign, he committed the great sin of allowing the enemy to escape south.

Through such analytical comparison, the comrades were able to understand better the correctness of Chairman Mao's proletarian military line and his wisdom in directing operations. They further discerned the danger of Lin Piao's bourgeois military line to the revolution.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." In the practice of struggle we have realized that, just as a river has its source and a tree has its roots, if we are to thoroughly criticize Lin Piao's bourgeois military line, we must make an analysis of the ideological and political line. We organized everyone to study the relevant theses of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, delve into the historical experience of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools in the political, ideological and military fields, dig up the roots of Lin Piao's bourgeois military thinking, and recognize the close connections between Lin Piao's bourgeois military line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius.

Marx and Engels pointed out: "Historical activity is the concern of the masses." Chairman Mao has also pointed out: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." What attitude to take toward the masses of people is a basic question of the struggle between the two lines. Historically, the Confucianists preached the theory that "only those of the highest who are wise and those of the lowest who are stupid cannot be changed." They were blind to the strength of the masses of the people. Inheriting Confucius' fallacies, Lin Piao also stubbornly clung to the reactionary idealist conception of history. This made it necessary for him to overestimate the strength of the reactionaries and underestimate that of the masses of the people, to resist Chairman Mao's vitally important directive that "the army and the people are the foundation of victory," and to sink into the quagmire of Right capitulationism.

Chairman Mao's strategic thinking and military principles are part of the military science founded on dialectical materialism and historical materialism; they are the magic wands for our army to prevail over the enemy. Idealist transcendentalism and the metaphysical method of thinking, in which Lin Piao believed, determined his inability to carry out Chairman Mao's versatile strategy and tactics. The so-called tactical principles advertised by Lin Piao are metaphysical dogmas, a reprint of the asinine methods of military operations employed by the Confucianists, who said that "soldiers will not form ranks unless drums are beaten." His "six tactical principles" are a hodgepodge of idealist transcendentalism and mechanicalism, serving nothing but his Right opportunist line.

Study and criticism have enabled cadres and fighters to see deeply that while politically imitating Confucius in pushing the reactionary line of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety," Lin Piao necessarily had to imitate the Confucians in "disciplining the army according to propriety" in a vain attempt to use the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to undermine the building of our army and change its character. Forging history, Lin Piao presented himself as the representative of a correct line and as an "invincible general." He did so in order to usurp Party leadership and seize state power and to attain his criminal goal of changing the Party's basic line, subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat, and restoring capitalism. But the historical tides cannot be resisted. Reactionaries who practice restoration, capitulation and national betrayal will not come to a good end, and Lin Piao is no exception.

Criticism of Lin Piao's bourgeois military line has provided an impetus for the deep-going development of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in the company. We are determined to continue to study and read seriously, fight hard, thoroughly criticize and repudiate Lin Piao's bourgeois military line, and eliminate its pernicious influence completely, so that the company will always advance victoriously under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian military line.

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Educate the Company with the Party's Correct Line

by

the Party Branch of 4th Company of a Certain Unit
of PLA Chengtu Units

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 9, Sept. 1, 1974)

Opposing the education of the army with Marxist theories and the Party's correct line is an important aspect of the bourgeois military line pushed by Lin Piao. At a time when the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is developing in a penetrating, widespread and sustained manner, our company, while criticizing Lin Piao's bourgeois military line, has emphatically criticized this crime of Lin Piao's.

In order to grasp the ideological weapon well, we first organized the cadres and fighters of the whole company to seriously study Chairman Mao's "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" and other brilliant works. Through study, we came to understand that the Resolution of the Kut'ien Meeting was a great program for the building of our Party and army. In this shining historical document, Chairman Mao systematically summed up the experience of the struggle between two lines in respect to Party and army building since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, stressing the extreme importance of "giving Party members an education in the correct line." After a study of history and present conditions, the comrades said with deep feeling: The fighting course of our army which has grown from scratch, from small to big, from weak to strong, has been one of Chairman Mao's correct line defeating the "Left-" and Right-opportunist lines. The boat of the Chinese revolution has sailed around numerous hidden shoals and overcome the resistance of the class enemy and the interference of the erroneous lines. After twists and turns and danger turned into security, nationwide victory was achieved. All this has been due to the leadership of the great Chinese Communist Party and the guidance of the great leader Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. After the period of the socialist revolution set in, Chairman Mao has again formulated for our Party a basic line for the entire historical stage of socialism. The Party's basic line is a beaconlight illuminating the triumphant path of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country, it is the life-line of the army and people all over the country. By implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we have won great victories in one struggle after another within the Party. Our army has also been tested and tempered in these struggles. The practice of struggle has made us further realize that grasping the work of the army work means nothing but grasping the study of and education in the Party's line. To talk about the line is to talk about the Party's basic line, and this is a matter of prime importance to the building of our army. By grasping the education in the Party's basic line, we shall be able to grasp the key link and let everything fall into place. Only by doggedly studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the course of struggle can the broad masses of commanders and fighters raise their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism and really heighten their consciousness of line struggle.

Having mastered the ideological weapon and raised the understanding of the importance of the line education, we guided the comrades to make an emphatic and deep criticism of Lin Piao's fallacies of opposing education of the army with Marxist theories and the Party's correct line. Using his revisionist line to oppose Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line, Lin Piao alleged that conducting education in the Party's line and policies "is the concern of local cadres" and that "only two hours will do." This was the first poisonous arrow Lin Piao shot at the education of the army with the correct line.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Historical experience merits attention. A line or a viewpoint must be constantly and repeatedly talked about. It won't do to make it known to a few; it must be known to the broad revolutionary masses." This is a scientific synthesis made by Chairman Mao of the various line struggles within the Party. Combining line-struggle and line education with the mass movement, Chairman Mao has stressed the need to conduct repeatedly and penetratingly an education in the Party's line among the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and other revolutionary masses, and fully displayed the great spirit of a proletarian revolutionary. This will be of major significance in consolidating the proletarian dictatorship and preventing capitalist restoration. It is with extreme indignation that the comrades criticized Lin Piao's fallacies. They said: Lin Piao, this bourgeois careerist and conspirator, with an evil mind, was most afraid that the Party's correct line would be grasped by the masses. While Chairman Mao has urged us to constantly and repeatedly talk about the question of the line every year, every month and every day, the renegade and traitor Lin Piao clamored that "only two hours will do." While Chairman Mao has taught us to make the line known to the broad revolutionary masses including the commanders and fighters of our army, Lin Piao said that "this is the concern of local cadres." This was balderdash with an axe to grind! Lin Piao's aim in spreading these fallacies was to attempt vainly to make our army depart from the orbit of the proletarian army-building line laid down by Chairman Mao since the Kut'ien Meeting, and to separate the education in the line and policies of our army under the unified leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee from the local education in line and policies. If we do not educate the army with Marxist theories and the Party's correct line, it would be like a car without a steering wheel, a gun without a sight, and a soldier without a backbone. In that case, our army would surely lose its proletarian revolutionary soul and depart from Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Here Lin Piao starkly exposed his wolfish ambition to oppose educating the army with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Next, we organized cadres and fighters to review the history of growth of our company to deepen their understanding of the importance of continuing the education in the Party's correct line. Our company followed Chairman Mao in fighting south and north. Because we constantly conducted an education in the Party's correct line and instilled into rank and file proletarian political thinking, we aroused in the commanders and fighters the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. With the "telescope" and "microscope" in political and military matters, the cadres

and fighters fought wisely and bravely. In the course of war, they had defeated the many with the few and performed military merit again and again, receiving from the higher Party Committee such glorious titles as "Skillful in Offense and Defense" and "Tenacious and Brave." After the nationwide victory was won, we continued to organize the comrades of the whole company to study the resolution of the Kut'ien Meeting and to conduct constantly education in the character, aim and tradition of the people's army. They have rather satisfactorily accomplished such tasks as marching, training, standing sentry and construction. They have been praised by the masses of people and the higher-ups. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the comrades of the whole company, concerned with for the important affairs of the state, actively plunged into battle, receiving in the process an extremely profound education in Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Facts, both positive and negative, have enabled us to further understand that the correctness or incorrectness of the line decides everything. When the line is correct, we will have everything; otherwise, we will lose everything. The question of line is one of top priority deciding the success or failure of the revolution, the character of the army, the direction for army building and whom to serve. The line consciousness is the fundamental consciousness of revolutionary fighters. With such consciousness, they will dare to climb a mountain of knives and to plunge into a sea of fire, fighting for the people till the last drop of their blood! With such consciousness, they will continue to render new meritorious services in the struggle for consolidating the proletarian dictatorship, preventing capitalist restoraion, and resisting aggression by imperialism and especially social-imperialism in the historical period of socialism.

Lin Piao opposed using the correct line in educating the army, and said that in "political education," it was necessary to grasp "living ideas" and "living education." This was yet another poisonous arrow let loose by Lin Piao.

In the article "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," Chairman Mao points out with emphasis: "To raise the political level of the Party through education" and to overcome various non-proletarian ideas within the Party and army is for the purpose of "carrying out the Party's correct line." After studying Chairman Mao's instructions, we came to understand that the army must attach first importance to conducting the education in political line and strengthening the study of Marxism. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao further stressed the need for education in the Party's line calling on us to "read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism." Applying the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method in strengthening our ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism and raise our consciousness of line struggle--this is an important guarantee of carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and consolidating the proletarian dictatorship. Only by seriously studying the works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao and by correctly handling the ideological and political line can we have the correct direction for doing various concrete tasks and find the correct approach to solving various concrete and ideological problems. Lin Piao rabidly opposed the army's study of Marxist theories, and talked about grasping "living ideas" and "living education" without class analysis. This forcefully illustrated

his hostility and opposition to the conduct of education in the correct line. On the one hand, he vigorously confused the principled boundary line between proletarian and bourgeois thinking, denied the need to make a concrete class analysis of various ideological tendencies, and negated the importance of applying proletarian thinking to overcome non-proletarian thinking in a vain attempt to use his set of bourgeois politics as a substitute for the education in Marxist theories and in the Party's basic line and policies for the period of socialism. On the other hand, he did his utmost to confuse the boundary line between education in the Party's line and the solution of concrete ideological problems of the fighters, and negated the need to give primary attention to raising people's line consciousness in political education in a vain attempt to use the grasping of "living ideas" as a substitute for the education in Marxist theories and the Party's correct line. The fighters pointed out: By the tactic of "stealing the beam and replacing it with a stake," Lin Piao tossed out a batch of contraband on the question of the army's ideological building, and his motive was very vicious. To grasp "living ideas"? Can it be that there are dead ideas in the world? Lin Piao's criminal purpose was to vainly attempt to lead the army to the sidetrack of being entangled with small matters, to forget the revolutionary line, and to give up the great goal of communism so as to cause the work of the whole army to deviate.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The experience of various line struggles within the Party tells us that whether or not the army is educated in Marxist theories and the Party's correct line is an important indicator of whether Marxism or revisionism is promoted in the matter of army building, a principled mark distinguishing Chairman Mao's proletarian military line from Lin Piao's bourgeois military line, and is a fundamental issue bearing on the character of our army. In strengthening the Party's absolute leadership over the army, upholding the principle that "the Party commands the gun," and building up the army in the image of the proletariat, the most important thing to do is to persistently carry out "an education in the correct line" of the Party, to thoroughly implement the Party's line, guidelines and policies among the broad masses of commanders and fighters, to use proletarian thinking to overcome non-proletarian thinking, and to criticize the ideology of the exploiting classes, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and the reactionary notion of worshipping Confucius and opposing Legalism. Only in this way can we arouse the proletarian revolutionary spirit of our army and maintain the proletarian nature of our army to make our army a tool for the realization of the Party's program and line and let it undertake the historical task of safeguarding the proletarian dictatorship. The fighters have said rightly: The Chinese People's Liberation Army was personally created and is directly commanded by Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has all along occupied the leading position in our army. Like the rest of the people all over the country, the vast numbers of commanders and fighters warmly love Chairman Mao and unswervingly advance along his revolutionary line. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, Lin Piao's plot to wreck the building of our army has gone completely bankrupt!

Conducting an education in ideology and political line has consistently been Chairman Mao's idea. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, in light of the demands imposed by the new Party Constitution adopted at the 10th Party Congress upon basic Party organizations--"giving the Party members and non-Party members a constant education in ideology and political line," we have regarded this movement as providing a golden opportunity for strengthening the building of Party branches and as the best classroom for giving the cadres and fighters of the whole company a line education and raising their consciousness of the line. Members of the Party branch have taken the lead in studying and criticizing, and have organized the comrades of the whole company to seriously read the works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao and actively plunge into the revolution in the superstructure. Fighters of the Yi nationality who were formerly slaves have mounted the rostrum to lecture on the history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools. Five fighters of the company have successively spoken at report meetings on the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle held by local Party committees and higher organs. A contingent of soldier theorists is growing up sturdily during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The ideological and organizational building of the Party branch is being continuously strengthened. The military and political quality of the whole company is improving, and the commanders and fighters are marching in big strides along the road to being writers and fighters.

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Consolidate the Rural Socialist Front

by

the Party Committee of Maot'ien Commune,
Yüehyang hsien, Hunan

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 9, Sept. 1, 1974)

Before the liberation, Maot'ien was a place of barren hills, poor soil, and rivers and streams that caused great damage. Grain output in a favorable year never surpassed 200-300 catties per mow. Since the liberation, especially since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the cadres and masses, their awareness of the struggle between the two lines higher than ever, have persisted in the socialist orientation and deepened the mass movement to "learn from Tachai in agriculture," thus bringing about great changes in Maot'ien. Trees have been planted on some 35,000 mow of barren hills. More than 98 percent of the farms are high-yield farms despite excessive rain or dry spells. More than 500 mow of sandy land has been turned into good farmland. Maot'ien commune's total grain output in 1973 was about 150 percent of that in 1965 before the great cultural revolution, and its per-mow yield exceeded 1,000 catties. As the collective grain reserves continue to increase, the commune members' standard of living has been rising gradually each year. Its diversified economy, education, cultural and health services have also developed considerably.

Though small in area, our commune has made vigorous efforts to develop agriculture. It consists of 15 agricultural production brigades and runs enterprises and other undertakings in the fields of culture, education, health, finance and trade. Since there are many tasks to do, how should they be done and what must be grasped in order to do them well? Our rich experience tells us that we must resolutely implement the Party's basic line, penetratingly launch the struggle between the two roads in the countryside, and persist in defeating capitalism with socialism. In this way, we can continue to expand the collective economy and consolidate the rural socialist position. In our commune, there are two production brigades which enjoy similarly good natural conditions and whose production in the past was rather low. With Tachai as the example, one of them firmly grasped the struggle between the two roads by striking at the class enemies' sabotage activities and criticizing capitalist tendencies, improved the conditions for production, and raised the masses' socialist enthusiasm. As a result, its per-mow grain yield exceeded 1,100 catties. But the other production brigade did not follow suit. It failed to deal a timely blow to the class enemies' sabotage activities and to persist in criticizing capitalist tendencies. It tried to solve problems the easy way. As a result, it failed to change its backward outlook. These facts show that the struggle between the two classes, two roads, and two lines runs through all aspects of rural work. In developing farm production, socialist enterprises, cultural, education, and health work, we must solve the question of orientation and line. If we solve this question by using socialism to defeat capitalism, we will have grasped the fundamental element of doing our tasks well. If we depart from this fundamental element, we will fail to increase production

and do our work well. Moreover, we would deviate from the correct orientation and even slide down the erroneous capitalist road.

Chairman Mao points out: "Political work is the lifeblood of all economic work." In the countryside, "the basic task of political work is to continuously instill socialist ideas into the peasants' minds and criticize capitalist tendencies." Our positive as well as negative experience has deepened our understanding of Chairman Mao's teaching, and in carrying out various fields of work we have taken the initiative in conducting education on the Party's basic line among the masses, "telling them about the superiority of the new system and criticizing the backwardness of the old system." We regularly organize the poor and lower-middle peasants to discuss their family history, their village history, and their brigade's history; to contrast the new social system with the old, the socialist road with the capitalist road, and the time before with the time after the great proletarian cultural revolution. We organize them to expose, in connection with actual conditions in the countryside, the manifestations of the struggle between the two classes, two roads, and two lines, and to strike at the class enemies' sabotage activities. The masses have further understood that "only socialism can save China." Determined to take the socialist road, they have become very enthusiastic in building a new socialist countryside. In 1972, our commune suffered one of the worst dry spells in the past century. A handful of class enemies tried to fan up capitalist tendencies by spreading these fallacies: "Heaven does not approve of man's harming each other, but it gives no warning when it wants to inflict disasters on mankind; therefore, in face of a disaster we must dare to cross the sea and get out of danger." A small number of cadres became pessimistic. Should we persist in the socialist road and overcome disasters by relying on the collective economy, or should we take the erroneous road? To this question the poor and lower-middle peasants answered: "The greater the difficulties, the more determined we are to persist in the socialist orientation and the philosophy of struggle." While exposing and criticizing the class enemies' criminal schemes of undermining the struggle to combat disasters, the poor and lower-middle peasants firmly expressed their determination to conquer nature. Everyone plunged into the struggle with a militant spirit, fighting day and night. We reaped a bumper harvest despite the dry spell, with per-mow output surpassing the target set by the National Program for Developing Agriculture. The commune members said that their victory was precisely a victory of socialism over capitalism.

To defeat capitalism with socialism, we must be good at helping the masses distinguish between socialism and capitalism. Working in the countryside, we often come across some confusing problems. If we don't understand the nature of these problems well, we are apt to deviate from the socialist orientation. For example, there are two different approaches to the question of arousing the masses' socialist enthusiasm. Ignoring the question of orientation and line, some comrades hold that they can increase the masses' enthusiasm by rewarding them with material incentives. Some production brigades have even temporarily allowed commune members to plant privately rape and other minor autumn crops on collective land. Is this practice in accord with socialist principles? When we asked the masses to discuss this question from the viewpoint of the struggle between the two roads, they held that there are two types of enthusiasm. "Material incentives" and "work-points in command" cannot raise the socialist enthusiasm of the masses.

On the contrary, they will corrupt people's minds, encourage capitalist tendencies, and weaken the socialist collective economy. Socialist enthusiasm can be raised only by resolutely implementing the Party's basic line and policies and by carrying out ideological and political work. After analyzing and discussing this question, the cadres drew a line between right and wrong. In the past, some cadres tried to increase the masses' enthusiasm during the busy farming season by giving them more work-points. Now, the busier the farming season, the more they grasp ideological and political work. They are also concerned with the masses' daily life and actively assist the masses in solving their personal problems. As a result, the masses have become more enthusiastic. In the past three years, the commune members, displaying the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, have leveled 1,500 mow of land, built 12 small reservoirs, filled up 120 small gullies, improved and dug more than 4,000 flood drainage ditches, and built more than 120 li of drainage and irrigation canals. They have also built more than 300 earthen and stone wind-breaks and 6,000 sand-sinking pools in areas suffering from sandstorms. The total amount of completed earthwork and stonework was five-fold that done in the 10 years before the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Only by conscientiously studying the Party's basic line can we distinguish right from wrong as regards the two roads. In our evening political school we have initiated classes to teach the Party's basic line. We have compiled teaching material in connection with the actual conditions of class struggle and the struggle between the two roads in our area so that we can disseminate the Party's basic line among the masses. We regularly conduct education on the Party's basic line in connection with the study of the works of Marx, Lenin, and Chairman Mao, with the study of the Party's policies, and with the struggle between the two roads in the countryside, so that the basic line education is put on a constant basis. Having mastered the Party's basic line, the masses can distinguish between the two roads, persisting in the correct one and resisting the erroneous one. Last year, when Meishu production team of Taoyün production brigade was drawing up its sowing plan, some people suggested that it would be better to plant medicinal herbs instead of grain crops because herbs have a higher value. They proposed that the acreage for grain crops should be reduced so that more medicinal herbs could be planted. But the poor and lower-middle peasants rejected this proposal, saying: "When we draw up a plan or do a job, we must think of the state and socialism. If we only strive to make more money for a small collective, we are liable to depart from socialism and thereby encourage capitalism." After criticizing the capitalist tendency to place money above everything, the cadres and the masses drew up a production plan on the basis of the principle "taking grain as the key link and insuring all-round development" and the principle of subordinating the interest of the collective to that of the state. Thus the acreage for grain production as prescribed by the plan was guaranteed. At the same time, they also made use of mountain slopes for planting medical herbs. Because the cadres and the masses have persisted in the socialist orientation in drawing up sowing plans, the principle of "taking grain as the key link and insuring all-round development" has been implemented rather well. Since the start of the great cultural revolution, the commune's acreage for grain production has expanded by more than 600 mow while its sideline occupations have exceeded 20 in number.

In drawing a line between the two roads, we must, in accordance the nature of each field of work, ask these questions: Should commune-run enterprises persist in serving agricultural production or only aim at making money? Under the guidance of the principle of "developing the economy and insuring supplies," should rural commerce proceed from the needs of agricultural production and of the masses' livelihood or one-sidedly regard profits as the only aim? Should education in the countryside be controlled by the poor and lower-middle peasants? Should it serve the training of people for building a new socialist countryside? Should rural health work aim at establishing cooperative medical services and persist in self-reliance, diligence, and thrift in promoting medical work? Here, the question of taking the socialist road or the capitalist road remains. The commune members have a common goal in undertaking our commune's various fields of work because they have been organized to draw a line between the socialist road and the capitalist road. They know which orientation to follow. The commune's farm machinery plant is mainly a repair plant. In normal times, it guarantees prompt service, but during the busy farming seasons it persists in the principle of serving agricultural production by sending out small teams to repair farm machines in the fields. To meet the needs of commune members and agricultural production, the commercial workers have expanded purchases of necessary commodities from various sources and do a good job in local procurement. During the busy farming season, they widen their scope of services and lengthen service hours. They regularly use carrying poles to deliver goods to various places and strive to improve their style of work and services. Medical workers of the health center also regularly visit various production brigades and teams to treat the sick poor and lower-middle peasants, help train barefoot doctors, and promote production of Chinese herb medicines, thus contributing their share to the consolidation of the cooperative medical service. Under the management of poor and lower-middle peasants, schools are run in an open-door manner. Students are regularly organized to study industry, agriculture and military affairs and take part in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. Education has been made to serve proletarian politics and is integrated with productive labor. With a common goal, all trades and professions have pooled their efforts and played an active part in implementing the fundamental task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, strengthening the socialist bastion and developing socialist agricultural production.

The struggle between the two roads in the rural areas is not only reflected in the production and economic spheres, it is also reflected in the superstructure and various ideological spheres. To defeat capitalism by means of socialism, the class struggle in the superstructure and ideological spheres must receive serious attention. It is incorrect to say that grasping the superstructure and ideological work is the business of the higher authorities and that the role of the rural cadres is insignificant in this regard. In joining the cadres and the masses in studying Chairman Mao's relevant instructions, recalling and summing up the experiences in learning from Tachai in agriculture, we have come to understand clearly that a handful of class enemies have been regularly using the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to carry out sabotage activities. When we were helping the masses carry out farmland capital construction, for example, the class enemies spread such superstitious ideas as "dragon's pulse," "geomantic influences" and the like. When there were natural adversities, they would spread the "theory of Heavenly mandate" in a wild attempt to shake our determination to combat the disasters. While our production was developing

in depth and breadth, they would instigate people to leave home to engage in sideline occupations, saying that "wise people make money, foolish people do farm work; people can hardly become rich without leaving home." Our victories have been achieved by repudiating the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius disseminated by the class enemies. This accounts for the fact that rural work is the same as other work: Only when the socialist revolution is upheld on the political and ideological front can the socialist bastion in the rural areas be consolidated and the socialist economy developed. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we have mobilized the cadres and the masses to criticize Lin Piao's revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and, linking the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines in the rural areas, exposed and repudiated the class enemies' crimes of using the old ideas and culture of the exploiting classes to corrode people's thinking and undermine the socialist revolution and construction. In this way, we have succeeded in stimulating the socialist enthusiasm of the masses further. In learning from Tachai, the cadres and the masses have gone all out, aimed high, united in their fight and achieved new successes in grasping revolution and promoting production. This year, the commune's per-mow yield of early rice exceeded 700 catties.

To enable the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius to develop in a thorough, widespread and sustained way, we have also paid attention to giving play to the active role of the educated youth in the countryside as well as teachers and students of rural schools. They are organized to work together with the poor and lower-middle peasants and rural cadres in conducting social investigations, criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, studying the history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools, and leading revolutionary mass criticism activities. At present, men and women, old and young, are actively taking part in criticism activities conducted everywhere in the commune. Wall posters on revolutionary mass criticism are put up in every team and critical articles are written by every household. The 20 or so women members of Paiyao production team of Chienlou brigade, led by their female team leader, have held over 20 criticism meetings and written some 90 critical articles. By criticizing the Confucian precept that "men are superior to women" and Lin Piao's reactionary fallacy that slandered women, they have displayed their initiative and have played a role worthy of "the other half" in all work. This year, working together with some other team members and students, they reclaimed and afforested some 10 mow of mountainous land, transformed the soil fertility of some 30 mow of barren land, built a large pond on a hill and reclaimed some 3 mow of mountainous land in their spare time morning and night. With these actual deeds, they have criticized Lin Piao and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius.

Following the in-depth development of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, a great number of socialist new things have emerged from among the masses. But only when these new things are fostered and supported with enthusiasm and old ideas are defeated and replaced by new ideas can the bastion in the rural areas be firmly occupied by the socialist ideas. In view of the fact that class enemies have used old novels, folk-songs and stories to corrode the commune members, the young people in

T'unghsin brigade have regularly staged revolutionary story-telling activities. The 20 or so story tellers in the brigade, working in the fields and in the political evening school, have, through telling stories, propagated heroic figures in the model revolutionary theatrical works and commended the advanced deeds of people in learning from Tachai in agriculture. Their stories are highly popular among the commune members. After summing up the experience of T'unghsin brigade, we have established some 30 revolutionary story-telling groups. Now a vigorous situation of using new ideas and culture to replace the old ideas and culture is taking shape in the commune. Political evening schools have been established in all brigades, and libraries have been established in a number of production teams. The cadres and the masses are taking an active part in studying politics and culture and discussing state affairs. In their spare time, the literary and art propaganda teams are active in the fields, performing revolutionary plays, singing revolutionary songs, propagating Mao Tsetung Thought, and commending new men and their advanced deeds. Sports activities are extensively carried out among the masses. Young people and militiamen have combined their productive labor with military training and strived to refine their thinking and their combat skills. Late marriage and planned parenthood have become a common practice in the commune. On the occasion of marriages and other auspicious events, gifts, banquets and other wasteful and extravagant practices are discouraged. People are given scientific knowledge and encouraged to do away with superstitious practices and to believe in revolution and not the will of Heaven. They are urged not to appeal to gods in case of natural disasters and diseases. When someone dies in the team, a memorial meeting is held to remember the deceased. In short, the new socialist style of work is taking shape and the socialist bastion in the rural areas is getting stronger and stronger.

In the course of the struggle between the two roads in the rural areas, we have gained some experiences and learned some lessons. We have been encouraged and also frustrated. But, in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we are determined to continue to sum up our experience, raise our consciousness of the struggle between the two lines, and lead the masses to march forward resolutely on the socialist road under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line!

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Carry Out the Correct Line, Reap a High Yield of Wheat

- Investigation report on Hsinhsiang District, Honan

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 9, Sept. 1, 1974)

Driven by the great proletarian cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, Hsinhsiang district has penetratingly carried out the "In agriculture, learn from Tachai" movement. It has reaped bumper farm harvests in succession over the past years. The output of wheat has increased by a big margin over a large area. This year, the cadres and the masses in the district displaying the spirit of continued revolution and overcoming a long, serious dry spell, registered a record output of wheat. Average per-mow output of wheat on some 500 mow has exceeded 400 catties, surpassing the target set in the "National Program for Agricultural Development." Both per-unit-area output and total output have risen by almost 200 percent as compared with 1965, the year before the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The fact of increased wheat output in Hsinhsiang district again testifies that the revolution is the motive force in production. So long as we conscientiously implement the Party's basic line, firmly grasp the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the countryside as the key link, and continue to heighten the socialist consciousness of cadres and masses, the production conditions will improve more quickly and the pace of agricultural development will subsequently be quickened.

Hsinhsiang is a major producer of wheat. Over the years, the wheat acreage has accounted for over 45 percent of the area for double cropping of grain crops. To increase the wheat output is important to developing agricultural production. For a considerable period of time in the past, due to the interference and sabotage by the revisionist line, the natural features did not change much, and per-mow output of wheat remained at around 100 catties. Thanks to the great proletarian cultural revolution, revisionist theories such as "dying out of class struggle," "San-tzu I-pao" and "four big freedoms" pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and company have been criticized, and the movement for "learning from Tachai in agriculture" has been carried out in depth. Agricultural production has developed substantially, with wheat output rising year after year. A number of communes and brigades with a yield of 400 to 500 catties of wheat per mow have emerged. The appearance of these high-yield units has made people see deeply that the masses have potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism and that there are great potentials for boosting farm production. Since one brigade or one commune has been able to gain a high and stable yield of wheat, why can't a balanced increase in production be achieved at a faster speed more widely?

But there are different answers to this question. Some said: "Others' experience is good, but we don't have the condition to copy it." Others contended that some communes and brigades had been able to gain high yields because they had "moderate winds and timely rains." Still others

held that "everything would be all right if only we master the measures for production." In short, it was believed that what one brigade or one commune had achieved was beyond one hsien or district. To solve this problem correctly, during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the work style, the district Party committee, acting on Chairman Mao's teaching "It is necessary to sum up experience conscientiously," analyzed and reviewed the history of the two-line struggle in the course of agricultural development in the whole district. It aroused Party organizations at various levels to take the Party's basic line as the key link and, bearing the actual conditions in mind, sum up the experience of some primary units in running socialist agriculture well and reaping a high yield of wheat. The experience of Ch'ihliying Commune, Hsinhsiang hsien, in conscientiously learning from Tachai and reaping a high yield of grain and cotton was highly illuminating. The Ch'ihliying Commune was an advanced unit visited in person by the great leader Chairman Mao in 1958. Located in the former course of the Yellow River, it was formerly a place of sand dunes and alkaline soil, severely ravaged by drought, waterlogging, salinity, and sandstorms. Its output was very low. With the coming into being of the people's commune, it has developed production year after year. However, in the course of advance, it suffered from the sabotage and interference by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line many times. The great call, "In Agriculture, learn from Tachai," issued by Chairman Mao in 1964, pointed out for them the direction of advance, inspiring their confidence in struggle. For the past decade or so, the cadres and masses, taking Tachai as the example, have perseveringly adhered to the Party's basic line, kept to the socialist road, waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the revisionist line, and radically changed the natural features through self-reliance and by hard work. The commune's 18,000 mow of alkaline land has been improved, 8,000 mow of sandy land has been treated, more than 800 canals and ditches have been dug or dredged, and close to 500 deep wells have been sunk. Basically it is possible to insure a bumper harvest in the event of drought or waterlogging. In 1971, per mow grain output exceeded 1,000 catties per mow, more was contributed to the State and the living standard was gradually improved. A booming scene of a socialist new countryside met the eye. The poor and lower-middle peasants were so happy that they said: "Taking the Tachai road indicated by Chairman Mao is like eating sugar cane or going up a ladder--every inch is sweet and one step is higher than the preceding one." After the experience of Ch'ihliying was popularized throughout the district, the cadres and the masses further learned from comparison that neither natural conditions nor production measures are the decisive factor in developing production. The key, they saw, lies in whether or not we firmly implement the Party's basic line and keep to the socialist road. Therefore, to take the Tachai road, we must try to find out shortcomings in line and take the correct ideological and political line.

Class struggle is a living objective reality in the countryside. Throughout the period of socialism, the principal contradiction in the countryside is and will always be the contradiction between the socialist road and the capitalist road. "As far as agriculture is concerned, socialism is the only road for agriculture in China." Facts have shown that some communes and brigades with high yield of wheat have been able to go on advancing because they have more conscientiously grasped the key link of class struggle and two-line struggle and made continuous efforts to solve the problems concerning the orientation and road of developing agriculture, and

have aroused the enthusiasm of the masses for socialism. Some communes and brigades have not advanced in big strides or have stood still for a long time largely because they have failed to firmly grasp the class struggle and two-line struggle, have been seriously affected by capitalist tendencies, and restrained the socialist enthusiasm of the masses. In order to enable all to clearly see the facts of the immediate class struggle and to deepen their understanding of the Party's basic line, both the district and hsien Party committees have during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the work style and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius organized people concerned and sent them by separate groups and stages to some more backward communes and brigades to carry out investigations. Chaopao brigade and Hsishuiyun brigade of Chaopao commune in Wen hsien are two neighboring villages, with similar conditions. But Chaopao brigade produced more than 900 catties of wheat per mow compared with Hsishuiyun's only 280 catties. Were the latter's conditions too poor? No. Said the commune members: "The shortcoming is in the line." The truth was that the leading group of Hsishuiyun brigade did not have a high consciousness of the two-line struggle nor had a clear orientation, and so the class enemies took the opportunity to stir up capitalist tendencies. As a result, the commune members had no confidence in doing collective production well. Later, with the help of the hsien committee, the brigade strengthened its leadership, firmly grasped class struggle, and criticized the capitalist tendencies such as individual management of side-occupations. It hardened the confidence of cadres and commune members in taking the socialist road. After a few years of hard efforts, its output of wheat for this year has exceeded 900 catties per mow.

A host of facts indicate that the struggle between the two roads in the countryside is acute and that capitalist tendencies are serious obstacles to the development of agricultural production. Some communes and brigades failed to march in big strides or long remained backward not because their commune members did not have abundant socialist enthusiasm but because the pernicious influence of the revisionist line had not been totally eliminated and the cadres did not have a strong awareness of class struggle. Consequently, the class enemy's sabotage activities were unchecked and capitalism still had a market. While reviewing and summing up experience, the Party organizations at various levels realized that failure to grasp this vital spot accounted for the stagnation of some communes and brigades. Whether in grasping the advanced or the backward, an effort must be made to solve problems of orientation and road before it is possible to basically heighten the consciousness of the cadres and masses for socialism and to build up their ability to discern and resist the revisionist line. In the backward communes and brigades, class struggle is more complex, and the objective material conditions are also poor for the time being. But we should first see that their poor and lower-middle peasants have a strong desire to improve things and have potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism. The potentials are immense. When backward communes and brigades have improved, we can better urge the advanced to be more advanced and the middling to catch up with the advanced. In recent years the Party organizations at various levels in this district have approached the improvement of the backward on the plane of persistently implementing the Party's basic line, emphasizing the transformation of these units. During busy farming seasons, up to ten thousand cadres in the district would go to the countryside to join the poor and lower-middle peasants in study and labor.

In Hsinhsiang, Wenhsien, Ch'inyang and other hsien, efforts have been made in recent years to tackle the work of improving more than 1,000 backward production teams, thereby making the experience of the advanced units more widespread. In this way, the number of backward units will continue to diminish and that of advanced units continue to grow, giving an impetus to a well-balanced increase in wheat output in vast areas.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Once this key link of class struggle and two-line struggle is grasped, the broad masses will be able to fully generate their enthusiasm for socialism and continue to march on production in depth and breadth. They hold that socialism cannot be built on a large scale without basically changing the production conditions. Today, after several years of arduous work, the irrigated wheat fields in the district account for 90 percent of the total; to each mow is applied an average of 4 cubic meters of crude manure and some 70 catties of nitrogenous or phosphate fertilizer. Deep plowing and soil improvement have been introduced in 90 percent of the wheat fields, thereby basically realizing gardening in farming. These conditions have created a material foundation for this year's wheat to surpass the target set in the "Program." In the course of the struggle for production, there similarly exists a struggle between two classes and two lines. Tachai's heroic exploits have been achieved through hard work and self-reliance guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. To learn from Tachai is to learn the line, to vigorously build socialism under the guidance of a correct line, to have the revolutionary heroism of daring to be the master of nature. In the past, due to the influence of the revisionist line and the lingering in people's minds of the old ideas and old habits, some cadres always emphasized the objective difficulties and lacked high aspirations. They thought that since a mountainous area had thin surface soil and rocky land and lacked water sources and since the low-lying alkaline land would be submerged in flood and turned saline in drought, it would be extremely difficult to increase production. After the great proletarian cultural revolution, and particularly during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the work style and that to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, efforts have been made to repeatedly criticize the reactionary "theory of productive forces" and "theory of Heavenly mandate," with the broad masses of cadres seeing more clearly than ever that sticking to old rules and tinkering in the struggle to transform nature is, in fact, an expression of the world view of the lazybone and coward who is afraid of hardship. Working in ease, we cannot learn from Tachai; loose efforts cannot change the face of the land. To keep to the socialist road and run the collective economy well, we must depend not on the "Heavenly mandate" but on the revolution, and must press forward against difficulties.

Once their thinking has changed, people see the natural conditions differently, and their mentality will be renewed. Cadres of mountainous areas now hold that gullies are good sites for reservoirs, rocks are available for building terraced fields and embankments, and raw materials can be obtained locally for making cement and lime. Cadres in sandy and alkaline areas think that a sand dune when planted with trees can be turned into a "bank" and a piece of saline lowland when improved in soil can be turned into a granary. Quickening the change in production conditions has become

an urgent demand of cadres and the masses. In many hsien and communes plans have been positively drawn up for penetratingly carrying out the movement for "learning from Tachai in agriculture" and rearranging mountains and rivers. In the struggle for rearranging mountains and rivers, Hui hsien, located in a hilly area, has repeatedly criticized Lin Piao's revisionist line and his counter-revolutionary crimes. In light of actual class struggle, it has roundly criticized in the course of water conservation construction reactionary fallacies of the class enemies who said that "if the spine of the dragon is broken, it would bring a lifetime of suffering," and thus struck at their sabotage activities. The cadres and the masses said confidently: "A socialist new countryside won't fall from Heaven nor is a gift from others. It can only be built through hard work under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line." While harnessing mountains and rivers, they store up the rain water, make use of water from mountain streams and underground water, keep water from running off, and bring water up to the hill. Now, there is one mow of irrigated land for each person. In the mountain area, each has 0.7 mow of Tachai [terraced] fields. This year's wheat output attained the target set in the "Program." Once the enthusiasm of the masses for socialism is generated, things which formerly took a long time to do can now be done in a short time. Yuanwu Commune in Yuanyang hsien was formerly a low-lying, heavily alkaline area subject to waterlogging. Some people had predicted that there was no alternative to migration to escape from famine and growing reeds. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the work style, the cadres and masses criticized these pessimistic views, seriously summed up experience and lessons, mastered the laws of transforming alkaline land and harnessing rivers, and worked doubly hard. Using the method of conducting water from the Yellow River to irrigate the land, transforming the alkaline land, and growing two crops of rice and wheat, they turned the alkaline land into fertile fields. The total grain output in 1973 rose by four times compared with 1965, the year before the great cultural revolution. Over the past years, more than one million people in the district have been mobilized to work for farmland water conservation projects in winter and spring annually. In four years, work involving a total of more than 230 million cubic meters of earth and rock was accomplished. As a result, the irrigated acreage doubled that before the great cultural revolution, with each person having 1.2 mow of irrigated land. This has effectively guaranteed high, stable yields of wheat in vast areas.

According to the general line of developing the national economy by "taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor," Hsinhsiang district has in recent years quickly developed the local "five small" industries by relying on the masses and through self-reliance, thereby rendering good support to agricultural production. They have learned from practice that for local industries to persist in serving agriculture is in essence also a question of following the socialist road with resolve. The development of local industries is highly important to changing the conditions of agricultural production, strengthening the worker-peasant alliance and consolidating the socialist front in the countryside. But it is only under the guidance of a correct line that it will be possible to bring the role of industry in aiding agriculture into play. As the influence of the revisionist line has not been eliminated entirely, wrong ideas of seeking profits and laying undue emphasis on things big and modern often surface

and play havoc. Some machinery plants at first persisted in combining repair, conversion and manufacturing and were quite active in serving agricultural production. But when they had developed gradually, they often tended to attach greater importance to manufacturing than to repair and departed from the track of serving agriculture. This must arouse our vigilance. To this end, Hsinhsiang district has firmly grasped the education on the Party's basic line for industrial departments, promptly rectifying all kinds of wrong ideas, correctly handling the relations between industry and agriculture, and raising the consciousness of having industry support agriculture. Most factories have contributed appropriately toward aiding agriculture. In the whole district, starting with manufacturing drainage and irrigation machines, farm machine building plants have generally been set up at three levels. Needed equipment and accessories have been supplied for more than 48,000 deep wells. A cement industry has also been developed to satisfy the needs of sinking deep wells, building canals, and constructing reservoirs. At the same time, to solve the problem of raw and semi-finished materials, small steel plants and coal mines have been set up. Every hsien has founded small nitrogenous and phosphate fertilizer plants. To meet the needs of agricultural development, Chiyuan General Machinery Plant and many other units have produced large quantities of water conservation machines for the countryside and regularly sent farm machine repair teams to the fields and worksites to repair machines and impart technical know-how. To aid agriculture, Yentsin, Menghsien and some other machine works voluntarily played a "supporting role" producing the urgently needed farm machine parts to serve farm mechanization, receiving the praises of the poor and lower-middle peasants.

In Hsinhsiang district, wheat is planted in close to five million mow of land annually, but development is still very uneven. It remains a major problem to further develop and organize the socialist enthusiasm and creativeness of the broad masses, to tap latent production potential, and to achieve a greater increase in the output of wheat, grain and cotton. Since the start of this year, while penetratingly carrying out the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the cadres and masses have further raised their consciousness of continuing the revolution, thanks to the criticism of the reactionary program of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as trumpeted by Lin Piao. While summing up their experience in increasing wheat output this year, they have conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's teaching, "In the fields of the struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change; they never remain at the same level." So they are resolved to press forward and make still greater efforts to boost the wheat output and accelerate the pace of agricultural development.

Investigation Team of CCP Honan Provincial Committee

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Produce More Coal for Revolution

by

the Party Committee of T'angchiachuang Mine
of K'ailuan Colliery

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 9, Sept. 1, 1974)

Our mine began operation half a century ago. In 1962, due to the influence of the revisionist line, some people had predicted that it was faced with the prospects of depletion, that its daily output would decrease by 1,000 tons each year, and that it would have to be closed down by the seventies. This frustrated the revolutionary enthusiasm of the miners, and coal output declined year after year. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution began, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the miners have grasped the revolution and promoted production. They have undergone tremendous changes in their mentality. An old mine has been brought to life again. For eight years it has overfulfilled its annual state plans, increasing the output of coal by more than one million tons, equivalent to the annual output of a big mine. The criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius has brought about a new phase. Today, the output of T'angchia-chuang is equivalent to that of two mines of comparable size in 1965.

Reviewing the tremendous changes that have occurred over the past years, we understand better that in order to develop coal production with greater, faster, better and more economical results, we must seriously implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and uphold the great policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production."

The Party's basic line tells us: "The socialist society covers a fairly long period in history. During this historical period of socialism, there still exist classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration." In order to undermine the economic foundation of socialism, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, the class enemies and the ringleaders of the revisionist line like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao either used production to restrain revolution or tried to sabotage the revolution by means of disrupting production. Therefore, in the course of implementing the policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production," there are class struggle and the two-line struggle. In our T'angchiachuang Mine, this struggle has never ceased. We have learned from practice that whether or not we firmly and unswervingly carry out this policy is an indication of whether or not we have a high consciousness of the two-line struggle.

Chairman Mao's great policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production" is a scientific synthesis of decades of experience in handling the relations between revolution and production by our Party. It correctly settles the relations between revolution and production, between spirit and matter, between the superstructure and the economic base, and between the production relations and productive forces. It is a basic policy for implementing the Party's basic line, keeping to the socialist orientation and developing

socialist production. By adhering to this policy we shall be able to carry the revolution onward and increase production step by step. Since the great cultural revolution, the situation of revolution and production has improved in our mine, and the basic reason is that we have grasped the line and upheld this policy more consciously.

Over the past years, while carrying out the policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production," we have often come across the question of how to handle properly the dialectical relationship between revolution and production. When production tasks were pressing, some comrades often tended to pay attention to production without attending to the first essential need to grasp revolution and use it to command production. And when a political movement had arrived, there was the tendency to neglect the use of revolution to promote production. These two tendencies often appeared repeatedly. With a view to correctly knowing and handling the dialectical relations between revolution and production, we have frequently organized the cadres and masses to study the Party's basic line and sum up experience in this respect in light of realities. In 1957, through the rectification campaign and the anti-Rightist struggle, the enthusiasm of the masses for socialism was generated and coal production increased rapidly. After the great leap forward, our mine joined the ranks of the nation's advanced coal-producing units. But after 1962, due to interference by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, one-sided attention was paid to production at the expense of revolution, with the several secretaries of the Party committee separately overseeing tunneling, extraction and transportation. But because the line was incorrect, the situation became increasingly passive, with the coal output declining year after year. In the great cultural revolution, we criticized the revisionist line and adjusted the orientation in running the enterprise. The broad masses of miners further raised their consciousness of the line, generating greater socialist enthusiasm. Thereupon, the Party committee promptly organized the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses and properly solved production problems. This brought about an ever better situation in revolution and production. Experiences, both positive and negative, have made us understand that revolution and production are opposites of an entity. In upholding the policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production," it is first necessary to correctly adjust the thinking of the leadership, to adhere to materialist dialectics, and to oppose metaphysics and compromise.

Denouncing the opportunists who opposed looking at problems from the political viewpoint, Lenin pointed out: "Compared with economics, politics must take the primary position. Not to affirm this is to forget the ABC of Marxism." Chairman Mao has always taught us: "Political work is the lifeblood in all economic work." The Party organization of an enterprise has many things to do, but, in all circumstances, it must put revolution in the first position. When the situation is good and work is smooth, it must pay attention to putting revolution in the first position; when time is pressing and tasks are heavy, it must all the more grasp revolution firmly and unswervingly. Toward the end of 1972, at a time when the colliery was about to complete its annual plan for increasing production,

two mines of the K'ailuan Colliery were attacked by natural disasters, causing considerable difficulties to accomplishing the annual state plan. Keeping the general situation in mind, our miners voluntarily proposed to produce an additional 20,000 tons of coal. We revised the plan for increasing production in accordance with the opinions of the masses. Since time was short and the tasks were heavy, should we promote production by grasping revolution or slacken revolution and grasp production only? A debate was held. In view of this, the Party committee promptly unified the thinking of all by citing past lessons: production declined when revolution was slackened, and it surged forward when revolution was grasped. Revolution was then put in the first place and the cadres were organized to go to the basic level to further unfold the criticism of Lin Piao and rectification of the workstyle, to grasp major issues, and to promote hard work. At the same time, leadership was strengthened over production. As a result, not only was the new plan for increasing production fulfilled, but an additional of 8,600 tons of coal was produced.

Since the beginning of this year, criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius has developed in depth. How to correctly handle the relations between revolution and production under this new situation? At first, some comrades, seeing the surging movement, were worried lest it would hinder production, being skeptical of the plan for doubling output one year ahead of schedule during the period of the 4th Five-Year Plan, a plan which was drawn up by the Party committee early this year. In view of this, we first organized the Party committee members to make a serious study of the instructions given by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee concerning the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, thereby making them aware that the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is a political and ideological struggle in the superstructure through which Marxism will defeat revisionism and the proletariat, the bourgeoisie. The deep-going development of the socialist revolution in the spheres of the superstructure will surely produce a deep influence on the economic base. When the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is successful and the miners have raised their line consciousness, it will be possible to generate enormous wisdom and strength and to better complete the production tasks as well. With thinking thus enhanced, we grasped the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius as a matter of major importance, guiding the movement with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought. We firmly mastered the main orientation of struggle and further carried out the Party's proletarian policies, thereby arousing positive factors in all fields. The miners have continuously raised their sense of responsibility and unity within the working class has continuously been strengthened. While energies have been concentrated on grasping the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, overall planning has been worked out for production. Concrete measures to double the present output one year ahead of schedule have been studied and drawn up, with detailed analysis made of crucial problems which might be encountered in the course of doing so. The masses have been mobilized to vigorously grasp major issues and overcome difficulties. Their revolutionary enthusiasm generated from the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius turned to full account. The march on production in depth and breadth has continued. The miners say: "While Lin Piao frenziedly

attempted to restore capitalism, we must work hard to build socialism." The cadres and masses have become more conscious in linking the effort to complete the plan for doubling output ahead of schedule with the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and developing the great achievements of the great cultural revolution. Everyone says: The plan for doubling output has been put forward by the miners and cadres of K'ailuan Colliery after having been tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution and in order to beat imperialism, revisionism and reaction in time and speed and quicken the pace of socialist revolution and construction. The more Lin Piao and company attacked and negated the great cultural revolution, the greater would be the need to exert full efforts and work hard in order to further consolidate and develop the great gains of the great cultural revolution. Driven by the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the whole mine has whipped up a new upsurge of production. Output of crude coal set a record in dry extraction in our mine, being doubled one month ahead of schedule. Monthly output has been doubled since March. The miners say: "Once the line is correct, production will increase step by step; doubling output of coal is a material gain from criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and also a forceful criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius."

In the practice of carrying out the policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production," we have also learned that we must grasp revolution by linking it with the realities of class struggle and two-line struggle in one's unit and with the realities of two-line struggle in the sphere of production. Through grasping revolution, we should continue to adjust correctly the orientation and line of running an enterprise and solve properly the basic problems of developing production. Only thus will it be possible to grasp revolution and promote production simultaneously. Therefore, after the initiation of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the work style, we have paid attention to taking the problem of orientation and line in running an enterprise as an important aspect of integrating with realities. In a socialist enterprise, for instance, what should be relied upon to develop production? This is an important problem in the struggle between the two lines in running an enterprise. Through the great proletarian cultural revolution, we have made deep-going criticism of "material incentives." But, some comrades have not completely solved this problem by proceeding from the line. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we have given attention to tackling the wrong ideas on this problem and in light of the past two-line struggle in running an enterprise; we clarified this problem. Many comrades have said: "If we use incentives to stimulate the masses, wouldn't we be poisoned by Confucius' fallacy that 'small men are interested in profits'? Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, by promoting 'material incentives' wanted to use money to corrupt the working class and lead us to the sidetrack of revisionism. We must take active action to counter-attack the reactionary fallacies spread by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao." It was under this situation that the youth high-speed tunneling team waged a tough battle to increase footage of tunneling at a high speed. Twice this year it achieved a monthly footage of 1,800 meters in single-tunnel extraction of coal, setting a national record for high-speed tunneling. The miners said proudly: "Before the great cultural

revolution, the highest monthly footage was only 708 meters; now, with proletarian politics in command, we dug 1,800 meters. This has fully demonstrated the tremendous effect of the 'Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company'."

Marx pointed out: "The most powerful productive force is the revolutionary class itself." In implementing the policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production," we must wholeheartedly rely on the masses of miners. We must rely on them not only in work, but, what is more important, in taking care of the line. It has taken us some time to understand this. In the course of unearthing the potential of the old mine, due to rising output, the existing hoisting capacity became more and more inadequate to the needs of developing production. At first, we did not make an investigation; instead, we put forward a plan for hydraulic hoisting on the basis of past experience. This plan would call for supply of some equipment from the State. The amount of investment would be large, but the returns would be slow in coming. After this plan was put forward, we wanted to mobilize the masses to proceed. However, the masses put up a big-character poster pointing out that this plan was at odds with the spirit of producing greater, faster, better and more economical results and would only produce less, slower, poorer and more expensive results. They suggested restoring a hoisting shaft which had been closed under the influence of the revisionist line. As a result, thanks to the use of the existing shaft pipes and equipment, quick returns were produced at a small cost. Only 70,000 yuan were spent and production was started in 23 days. This cut the time by half as envisaged in the plan, reduced the cost by over a hundred thousand yuan, and the lifting capacity was to be raised by 350,000 tons every year. This taught us a very impressive lesson, making us understand that the broad masses of miners, especially the old ones, battling in a sea of coal all year round, have not only rich practical experience but also a high consciousness of class struggle and two-line struggle. Some miners have said: "The Party is our parent and the mine our home. We must obey the Party and keep our house well." It is precisely out of this strong sense of responsibility as masters of the house that many veteran miners have been working diligently in the mine for the last 20 years and more and, with deep proletarian affection, training and educating the young late-comers. The broad masses of workers are the main force in revolution and production. To rely on the working class heart and soul, we must first bring their role into full play and rely on them to keep to the correct line. Since then, we have set up a management committee with miners' participation. We have often called three-in-one meetings attended by veteran miners to study major problems of revolution and production.

Last year, when an expanded shaft in our mine was about to be put into operation, according to past rules, a group of new miners would have to be added. This was not available at that time. Should we wait or make an effort to tap the potential within the enterprise? We urged the masses to discuss the problem. They suggested the method of working on two jobs concurrently, merging similar types of work, reducing auxiliary labor, and substituting people with weak labor power for those with

strong labor power and women workers for men. In this way, not only did the needed manpower become available, but labor organization was further adjusted and the level of enterprise management raised. The coal dressing plant, after transferring a number of its workers to the new shaft, felt no bad effect on its production and was enabled to improve the technological flow and raise its productivity to a great extent.

Implementing the policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production" has made it possible to tremendously exploit the enthusiasm of the miners for socialism. They tackle difficulties and carry heavy loads for the revolution. Each year they take the initiative to ask for more production assignments. The greater the zeal of the masses, the greater the need to attend to the well-being of the masses and to pay more attention to insuring safety in production. This has given expression to the superiority of the socialist system. When a conflict occurs between safety and production, safety is taken care of first. In September last year, our mine put a new work face into operation when changes in geological conditions threatened the safety in production. We then first focused attention on solving the problem of safety and improving the safety factors. Although output was affected for the time being, yet following improvement in working conditions, the miners became more enthusiastic and coal output increased sharply as a result.

Grasping revolution and promoting production is a long-term militant task. The miners have said rightly: "We must grasp revolution every year, every month and every day; we must promote production in similar fashion. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we are resolved to carry out the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a penetrating, widespread and sustained way and make an effort to develop coal production so as to make still greater contributions toward socialist revolution and construction.

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Rapacious International Exploiters

- Unmasking the Soviet revisionists who claim to be the "natural ally"

by

Nan Ching (南 景)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 9, Sept. 1, 1974)

Speaking at the United Nations rostrum not long ago, a Soviet revisionist chieftain distorted facts and spun a yarn about the Soviet revisionists being the "natural ally" of the Third World. He boasted unabashedly that they "unswervingly" pursue a policy of giving "aid and support" to the developing countries. But one must hear what a man says and see how he acts. No flowery rhetoric on the part of the Soviet revisionists can cover up their rapacious plunder and exploitation of the Third World.

More than five decades ago, Lenin, in his book "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," profoundly revealed the economic essence and basic characteristics of imperialism, and pointed to the inevitability of foreign expansion by monopoly capital. Capitalism has been restored in an all-round way in the Soviet Union today under the reactionary rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. The nature of social-imperialism determines that the Soviet revisionists inevitably scramble for sources of raw materials, outlets for investments and markets abroad and for world hegemony. It determines that they cannot stand on the side of the Third World, nor can they genuinely support the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and oppressed people. What they say is different from what they do. While shouting "support," they carry out sabotage secretly. This self-exposure of the Soviet revisionists makes people see more and more clearly that they are certainly not the "natural ally" of the Third World but are, as disclosed by the public opinion of the Third World, "actually an imperialist country," "working according to the ambition and conspiracy of a superpower."

In order to flaunt themselves as the "natural ally" of the Third World, the Soviet revisionists constantly talk about "aid" and take advantage of every opportunity to boast about it. It seems that by doing so, they could cover up their acts of bullying the weak, oppressing the small, benefiting themselves at the expense of others, and stretching their tentacles everywhere, and could make people believe that they are the "natural ally" of the Third World. However, the Soviet revisionists' "aid," both in terms of its purpose and its means or its consequences, precisely proves that the Soviet revisionists are rapacious international exploiters with sweet words but a wicked heart.

Exposing the imperialists' plunder and exploitation abroad, Lenin pointed out: "Typical of the latest stage of capitalism, when monopolies rule, is the export of capital." This special phenomenon of capital export is closely related to the economic, political and territorial division of the world into spheres of influence by imperialism. This not only profoundly

reveals the exploiting nature of imperialist countries in pursuing super-profits and determines their inevitable foreign expansion, but points out that the purpose of export of capital of imperialism is to divide the globe into spheres of influence and to contend for world domination. The Soviet revisionists' "aid" is in essence the export of capital of imperialism. They have only added the label of "socialist state" to the capital they exported.

It is out of their counter-revolutionary global strategy that the Soviet revisionists provide "aid", both economic and military, for the Third World. When they give "economic aid" they are actually taking advantage of the strong desire of the Third World countries to free themselves from the imperialist and colonialist yoke and develop their national economy; by means of loans and investments, the Soviet revisionists carry out economic penetration into the recipient countries, control their vital economic departments, plunder their natural resources and hinder the development of their national economy, thus reducing, to varying degrees, the recipient states to their political and economic appendages, and at the same time reinforcing the Soviet position and strength in the struggle for world hegemony.

Revealing the imperialists' vicious export of capital, Lenin pointed out that finance capital is concerned "with skinning the ox twice--first, it pockets the profits from the loan; then it pockets other profits from the same loan which the borrower uses to make purchases from Krupp, or to purchase railway material from the steel syndicate, etc." In their export of capital the Soviet revisionists carry out fourfold exploitation through a single loan: First, extortion of interest from the loan. For instance, the interest of old debts and the interest of interest paid by India to the Soviet revisionists every year is 25 percent more than the new loan it receives in the same year. Second, the recipient country is obliged to buy with the loan and at high prices outdated Soviet equipment and piled-up materials while the Soviet revisionists obtain huge profits through the export of commodities boosted by the export of capital. Third, it is stipulated that upon the completion of enterprises built with Soviet "aid," the loan must be repaid with the products turned out by the enterprises or other low-priced raw materials; the Soviet revisionists further batten on price differentials by forcing down prices. Fourth, the dispatch of large numbers of Soviet "experts" and "advisers" to the recipient country, who ask for high wages and allowances, unreasonably demand all kinds of privileges, and even worm their way into vital economic departments of the recipient country, becoming a "shadow cabinet," interfering in the internal affairs, manipulating behind the scenes, and elbowing out and attacking unscrupulously all those who show discontent with the Soviet revisionists. By means of such "aid", the Soviet revisionists are virtually skinning the ox four times. Not only that, but in the name of "international division of labor," the Soviet revisionists try their best to incorporate vital economic departments of other countries into their economic "plans," thereby causing the economy of the recipient countries to develop in an irrational way, causing them to gradually increase their dependence on the Soviet revisionists until they are turned into warehouses of raw materials and processing plants of the Soviet revisionists.

As to the military "aid" of the Soviet revisionists, it is a tool for undisguised encroachment upon the sovereignty of other countries and interference in the internal affairs of others. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has always bragged about its military "aid" for what it calls "an eloquent proof of the principle of internationalist policies." In providing military "aid," as a matter of fact, the Soviet revisionists take advantage of the difficulties of others to reap colossal profits by selling out-of-date weapons, and intensify their control over the recipient countries by using military "aid" as a lever. First, any country which accepts Soviet military "aid" must buy at high prices, and pay in cash and in foreign exchange. Some recipient countries have been compelled to borrow US dollars in the European money market to pay the Soviet revisionists. Second, taking advantage of the arms sales, the Soviet revisionists buy important raw materials from the recipient countries and then amass huge profits by re-selling them. For example, they exchanged arms for Middle East oil which they re-sold in Europe at an enormous superprofit. Third, the Soviet revisionists' military "advisers" control military command, supply and training in the recipient countries which, moreover, have to provide the Soviet Union with the right to use their ports and bases. Is there the slightest trace of proletarian internationalism in such military "aid"? It is an "eloquent proof" of the Soviet revisionists' out-and-out great-power chauvinism and national egoism. In the early 1970's, arms sales by the Soviet revisionists had already surpassed those of the United States, making them the top arms seller in the world.

Apart from providing economic and military "aid," the Soviet revisionists of late have eagerly followed the example of trans-national corporations of capitalist imperialism in investing abroad directly. Under the cloak of "economic cooperation," they run a large number of "joint-stock companies" on trade, transportation, banking, insurance, maintenance and assembly in some Third World countries. They openly wanted to enter into alliance with the monopoly capitalists of the other superpower by running joint enterprises in a third country. Last year, an article published in "The Communist," central organ of the Soviet revisionists, openly demanded that developing countries "gradually and by separate stages participate in the international socialist division of labor," with the Soviet revisionists setting up "joint-stock companies" in these countries. It added that this was a "new form of cooperation" that "has been more and more firmly elevated to the primary position." Such a "new form," about which the Soviet revisionists have talked volubly, is in truth a reprint of the transnational corporations, reflecting the new tendency of the Soviet revisionists to step up their export of capital.

Among the despicable means of the Soviet revisionists in exploiting and plundering the Third World, "equal and mutually beneficial" trade occupies a place as important as "aid." As a matter of fact such trade is synonymous with the exchange of unequal values. The Soviet revisionists are even smarter than the capitalist imperialists in buying cheap and selling dear. As known to all, the price relationship between primary products and finished industrial products at today's international market took shape on the basis of imperialist dominance; the exchange of unequal values exists

in such a relationship. The prices of Soviet exports to the Third World ntries are generally 15 to 25 percent higher than those of the inter- nal market. On the contrary, the prices of imports from the Third ld nations to the Soviet Union are 10 to 15 percent lower than the ld market prices. This actually means another exchange of unequal values he basis of the imperialist exchange of unequal values. This is out- out double exploitation through unequal values. The Soviet revisionist gade clique cannot wash away its dirty features as an evil international chant even if it uses all the water in the Volga River.

When exposing the means used by imperialism for foreign expansion, pointed out that imperialism practiced not only political but also omic "annexations." What was meant by economic "annexations" was through taking control of the railways, mines and land of other nations, mperialist countries caused these countries to go into debt, making ecessary for them to depend economically on the imperialist countries become economic appendages of imperialism. And such economic exations" did not undermine the political independence in form of these nexed" countries. Lenin said: "Hoisting the banner of setting up tically independent states, the imperialist powers set up states are completely dependent on them economically, financially and militarily." old-brand imperialist countries did just that in the past. After War II, the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin ica rose like storms, and the colonialist policies of imperialism, rring the great indignation of the people, were totally discredited like running across the street, with everyone shouting: Kill it. In these mstances, the imperialists had to adopt more camouflaged and subtle forms of colonialism--such as fostering puppets, buying off henchmen, izing military and political blocs, and using "aid" as the bait for rol--in pushing neo-colonialism. The Soviet revisionists' economic gration into and domination of the Third World under the signboard id" is a new variant of the imperialist policy of economic "annexations."

There are profound economic and class sources to the Soviet onists' unbridled expansion and plunder abroad. Lenin pointed out the imperialist stage was marked by "Monopolies, obligarchy, the ving for domination instead of striving for liberty, the exploitation an increasing number of small or weak nations by a handful of the ost or most powerful nations." Monopoly is the profoundest economic lation of imperialism and the source of exploitation and oppression the great majority of the countries by a handful of big imperialist ntries in the world. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique which rules Soviet Union today comprises the agents of a handful of capitalists. constitute themselves a bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class. With the machinery they usurped, they are pushing a counter-revolutionary visionist line in an all-round way. As a result, the socialist state omy has degenerated into a state-monopoly capitalist economy, and the gration of monopoly capital with state power controls the economic line of the Soviet Union. It is more concentrated in degree and more opolistic in character than private monopoly capital or state monopoly tal of capitalist imperialism.

To monopolize and plunder are the characteristics of monopoly capital. The rule of monopoly capital at home inevitably leads to expansion and aggression abroad. In order to get marximum profits, shift their internal crisis to others and maintain their reactionary rule, the Soviet revisionists stretch out their tentacles and create trouble everywhere. As Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is a latecomer to the human flesh banquet of dividing the world into spheres of influence and as many major raw material sources and markets it desires have been occupied by other imperialist countries, particularly US imperialism, there has ensued an acute struggle between the Soviet revisionists and the US imperialists. The Soviet revisionists not only exploit, plunder and control the Third World countries but also want to control the Second World countries which are no match for them in strength. As to the so-called "great socialist community," the Soviet revisionists are even more unscrupulous in exploiting the other members.

The behavior of the Soviet revisionists has made it clear to all that the landlord and capitalist classes overthrown by the Great October Revolution are once again in power. They have invoked the spirits of the old Tsars in the person of Brezhnev in an attempt to found a big Soviet revisionist empire embracing European Asia, Africa and Latin America. But the imperialist system, like a sun setting behind the western hills, is on its last legs. Despite their unbridled ambition, the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists have not the necessary strength. The various contradictions generated by their inherent weakness and their aggressive policy determine that their ambition can never be realized. No matter how desperately the Brezhnev renegade clique may struggle, it can bring no change to the situation in which it finds itself, a situation that "flowers fall off, do what one may."

Chairman Mao has said: "The revisionist Soviet Union is also a paper tiger." Being big but feeble, ferocious but weak--this is the essence of the Soviet revisionists, rapacious international exploiters and oppressors. They look like colossuses stretching their claws, actually the are timid and weak inwardly. Today, in the Soviet Union ruled by state monopoly capital, the people are being impoverished every day. The broad laboring masses have already become hired slaves deprived of the means of production, subject to the ever present threat of dismissal and unemployment. As the Soviet revisionists are frantically pursuing the "cannon and not butter" policy of militarization of the national economy, industrial and farm production has been disrupted, there is a grave shortage of consumer goods, and difficulties have arisen in the supply of grain. Moreover, daily intensifying fascist rule and national high-handed policies have further sharpened the class and national contradictions inside the country. In order to shift the attention of the people and lessen class antagonisms and national conflicts, the Soviet revisionists have vigorously tried to step up expansion abroad. As a result, they have to further expand armament and increase military spending, thereby bringing about financial deterioration and economic dislocation, leading to a further reduction in the living standards of the people.

The greater the efforts the Soviet revisionists make to step up aggressive expansion abroad, the heavier the burden they have to carry.

The rope around their necks further tightens. As their front is over-extended, their feebleness is more glaringly revealed. From their own practice and experience, the Third World countries and people have come to see more and more clearly the real features of the Soviet revisionists. The struggle to safeguard state sovereignty and to oppose foreign control and plunder is surging onward. Recently, at the Third UN Conference On the Law of the Sea, the Soviet revisionists' attempted to carry on their maritime hegemonism by pretending to "recognize" the 200-mile economic zone has been dealt a head-on blow by the Third World countries in defense of their sovereign rights over maritime resources. This fact reflects the bankruptcy of the policy of the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists. Some countries and people of the Second World dominated and plundered by the Soviet revisionists are waging a struggle against such domination and plunder. In stepping up their foreign expansion, the Soviet revisionists are contending with the other superpower everywhere, sharpening the contradictions between them with each passing day. The collusion between the two hegemonic powers--the United States and the Soviet Union--is relative and temporary, but their contention is absolute and protracted. Collusion is for the purpose of greater contention.

Since the Soviet revisionists are taking the old road of imperialism, they cannot but sink into the inherent contradictions and conflicts of imperialism. In spite of their acting like a bully and running amuck everywhere, even when they rack their brains to the utmost they cannot make out a prescription for saving imperialism from impending doom. The louder the Soviet revisionists plead to be the "natural ally" of the Third World, the clearer it shows their isolation and tough going. Chairman Mao says: "There are true and false friends. But through practice one can tell the true from the false." From their own experience, more and more Third World countries and people have seen through the neo-colonialist nature of the Soviet revisionists. They are becoming more and more aware of who are their real allies and who are their enemies. The torrent of the Third World's struggle in unity against hegemonism is rolling forward and will undoubtedly sweep away the dyke erected by imperialism and social-imperialism.

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